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A LIFE OF JOSEPH HALL, D.D.





A LIFE
OF
JOSEPH HALL, D.D.,

BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH.

BY THE
REV. GEO. LEWIS,
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TO
THE REV. W. B. DUGGAN, M.A.,
VICAR OF ST. PAUL'S, OXFORD,
I BEG TO DEDICATE THIS LITTLE BOOK
WITH ALL AFFECTIONATE ESTEEM.





PREFACE.

THOSE who have any knowledge of the history of the Church will not deem an apology necessary for a Life of one of its ablest and most devoted servants at a perilous crisis. None, perhaps, who revere goodness, or value scholarly divinity, will be averse to renewing their acquaintance with Bishop Hall. Lovers of moderation will remember that in him is mirrored a virtue scarcely ever out of place, never more necessary than at the present time.

I have not thought it needful in a work of this magnitude and purpose to give verifying references, except in comparatively few instances. Here, however, I would acknowledge my great obligations to the ordinary sources of information, the State Papers, leading County Histories, Fuller, Neale's "History of the Puritans," Birch's "Life of the Prince of Wales," Heylin's "Laud," Canterbury's "Doom," Laud's "History of his Troubles," Blomfield's "Norwich," Hallam's "Const. History," etc.; and among more recent authors, in particular, to Mr. Bass Mullinger's

"History of Cambridge," Perry's "English Church History,"—an invaluable companion from first to last,—Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops," Stoughton's "Religion in England," the Histories of Scotland by Grub and Cunningham, Masson's "Life and Times of Milton," Dr. Jessop's "Diocesan History of Norwich," Grosart's Edition of Hall's Satires and Poetry, the elegant publication of the long-missing "King's Prophetic, or Weeping Joy," brought out by the Roxburgh Society under the editorship of the Rev. W. Edward Buckley, etc.

Among those who have given me personal assistance I beg to sincerely thank the Dean of Norwich (Dr. Goulburn) for information furnished by himself, and also for putting me in communication with Dr. Hensly, Diocesan Registrar, and Dr. Jessop, from both of whom I have received substantial help. E. S. Chubbuck, Esq., late Fellow of Emmanuel, not only sent me the account of the Dort Medal which is embodied in the text, but also directed the publishers to send me his very useful "Memoir of Chaderton," the first Master of that College. To the kindness and courtesy of Dr. Sanday and of the Rector of Exeter College, where several of Hall's sons were educated, I am indebted for permission to see Bishop George Hall's Cup,—an art treasure described in the Appendix; the description was pointed out to me by Mr. Boase, Senior Fellow and Librarian, whom I have also to thank for



valuable hints in his laborious and exhaustive Register of the College. The Vicar of Ashby, Hall's birthplace ; the Rector of Higham, where he died and was buried ; Dr. Cowie, Dean of Exeter, and many others, have also readily responded to my inquiries, and my thanks are especially due to my dear friend, the Rev. W. B. Duggan, for assistance in revising the proofs, and for various suggestions from time to time. The most useful works on the same subject I have found to be Bishop Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biographies," and Jones's "Life of Hall" (1826), and of editions of Hall's writings that by Peter Hall, though Wynter's contains some matter not before published.





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1577-1586

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND SCHOOL.

JOSEPH HALL, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, and from thence translated to Norwich, was born July 1st, 1574, at five of the clock in the morning. The house of his birth stood in what was then called Bristow Park, within the parish of Ashby-de-la-Zouch, a town in the north of Leicestershire. At that time there were two farms, which are now, and have been long, thrown into one. The name Bristow has been lost, while that of Prestop remains. The house stood about a mile from the town, on the road to Burton-on-Trent, and the site is now occupied by a cottage and farm-buildings. The future bishop was baptized on July 4th, when only three days old, in the parish church of Ashby. The entry is as follows :—

1574.	THE FATHER'S NAME.	THE CHILD'S NAME.	BAPTIZED.
July 4th	John	Joseph	Hall.

His father was an officer under that truly honourable and religious Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon, in 1572 appointed President of the North, and under

him had the government of Ashby, the chief seat of the earldom. Little is known of the elder Hall, but from the way in which his son speaks of his death it may be inferred that he was a man of worth and piety. "Since I saw you," he wrote to Sir Andrew Asteley, "I saw my father die. How boldly and merrily did he pass through the gates of death, as if they had no terror, but much pleasure! Oh that I could as easily imitate, as not forget him! We know we must tread the same way: how happy, if with the same mind!"

His mother, Winifrede, belonged to the house of the Bambridges, or Bainbridges, who originally came from the north, and were of good if not of high family. They had attained some importance in Leicestershire, since we find Robert Bambridge dining with Sir William Skipwith at the Earl of Huntingdon's, and interceding with the Earl of Shaftesbury that the consort of James I. and the young Prince Henry, then on the road from York to London, might do the Earl of Huntingdon the honour of staying at Ashby Castle. A distinguished member of the family was John, son of the foregoing, born at Ashby in 1582, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, under the tuition of Hall, the subject of this history. After taking his degree, he taught a grammar school in Leicestershire, and at the same time practised physic and studied mathematics. Both as a physician and as an astronomer he gained some reputation, being admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, and discovering the comet of 1618. He thus became acquainted with Sir Henry Savile, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, who appointed him first Savilian



Professor. He was incorporated M.D., became Junior Linacre lecturer in 1631, and Superior Reader in 1635. He died in a house opposite Merton College, November 3rd, 1643, and was buried in the Choir of Merton, against the north wall, near the altar.

Like many other famous men, Hall owed much to his mother's influence. He describes her as a "woman of that rare sanctity, that were it not for my interest in nature, I durst say that neither Aleth, the mother of that just Honour of Clairval (St. Bernard of Clairvaux), nor Monica, nor any other of those pious matrons antiently famous for devotion, need to disdain her admittance to comparison. She was continually exercised with the affection of a weak body, and oft of a wounded spirit ; the agonies whereof, as she would oft recount with much passion, professing that the greatest bodily sicknesses were but flea-bites to these scorpions, so, from them all, at last, she found a happy and comfortable deliverance. And that not without a more than ordinary hand of God ; for, on a time, being in great distress of conscience, she thought in her dream there stood by her a grave personage in the gown and other habits of a physician, who, enquiring of her estate, and receiving a sad and querulous answer from her, took her by the hand, and bade her be of good comfort, for this should be the last fit that ever she should feel of this kind. Whereto she seemed to answer, that, upon that condition, she could well be content, for the time, with that or any other torment. Reply was made to her, as she thought, with a redoubled assurance of that happy issue of this her last trial ; whereat she began to conceive an unspeakable joy,

which yet, upon her awaking, left her more disconsolate, as then conceiving her happiness imaginary, her misery real. The very same day she was visited by the reverend and, in his time, famous divine, Mr. Anthony Gilby, under whose ministry she lived; who, upon the relation of this her pleasing vision and the contrary effects it had in her, began to persuade her, that dream was no other than divine, and that she had good reason to think that gracious premonition was sent her from God Himself, Who, though ordinarily He keeps the common road of His proceedings, yet sometimes, in the distresses of His servants, goes unusual ways to their relief. Hereupon she began to take heart, and by good counsel, and her fervent prayers, found that happy prediction verified to her, and, upon all occasions in the remainder of her life, was ready to magnify the mercy of her God in so sensible a deliverance. What with the trial of both these hands of God, so had she profited in the school of Christ, that it was hard for any friend to come from her discourse no whit holier. How often have I blessed the memory of those Divine passages of experimental divinity, which I have heard from her mouth! What day did she pass without a large task of private devotion? Whence she would still come forth with a countenance of undissembled mortification. Never any lips have read to me such feeling lectures of piety; neither have I known any soul that more accurately practised them, than her own. Temptations, desertions, and spiritual comforts were her usual theme. Shortly, for I can hardly take off my pen from so exemplary a subject, her life and death were saint-like."

Her spiritual adviser, under whose ministry Hall's

younger years were spent, was a man of considerable eminence. A native of Lincolnshire, and a member of Christ's College, Cambridge, he appears to have been learned in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages. Long afterwards Hall remembered him as the author of that bitter dialogue between Miles Monopodius and Bernard Blinkard, one of the hottest and busiest sticklers in the quarrels at Frankfort, and "one of the godfathers of the Geneva Discipline, who, after his peregrinations in Germany and Geneva, undertook for that new-born infant at an English font." He published various works, such as a Commentary on Micah, a treatise on predestination, a paraphrase of the Psalms, etc., and he lived at Ashby as great as a bishop. He was succeeded in the vicarage by his son, Nathanael Gilby. Hall may thus be said to have almost imbibed Calvinism with his mother's milk.

If Ashby was great in the religious world, through Mr. Gilby, it was equally great in the secular, though only a place of about seventy families, through its connection with the powerful Earls of Huntingdon, whose seat, Ashby Castle, was situate on a gentle eminence on the south side of the town. Here, in the last week of November 1569, Mary Queen of Scots, on her way from Tutbury to Coventry, was a captive, and a room in 1804 still remaining there bore her name. The charge of her was entrusted to the Earl of Shrewsbury, together with the Earl of Huntingdon, and the latter appears to have exercised his trust with not only vigilance, but rigour. He was directly descended from George, Duke of Clarence, and brother of Edward IV., and pretended to dispute with the Scottish queen her right to the succession.

Hall's younger days must thus have been full of the unhappy queen, and her execution in 1587, (February 8th), when he was only thirteen years of age, must have left an indelible impression upon his mind. One may picture him as frequently accompanying his father to the Castle, and thus getting an insight into the life of the aristocracy, and acquiring those habits of respect and deference which afterwards gained for him patrons and enabled him to keep them. The Earls more than once entertained royalty. James I. quartered himself and his whole court upon the then Earl for many days together. Every day, we are told, the dinner was served up by thirty poor knights, with gold chains and velvet gowns. In 1645 Charles was there; but before long the glory had departed. Colonel Henry Hastings, younger son of the Earl, made a stand for the King, and was allowed to march away from his fortress unconquered. In 1648 the home of so much hospitality and princely splendour was dismantled.

Hall's first training was gained in the public school of his native place, which only some seven years before his birth had been founded by Henry Earl of Huntingdon and others, "for instructing youth in good manners, learning, knowledge, and virtue." Of his school-fellows one is well known to us, Hugh Cholmley, whose father was also a dependent on the Castle, and most likely came of the Cholmleys of Bramsby. The two boys, "partners of one lesson from their cradles," were at the University together, "for many years partners of one bed," bishop and prebend respectively of the same Cathedral at Exeter, and lifelong friends. From his infancy Hall's parents had devoted him to the sacred calling, and

his education was directed to that end. How near their hopes and his were to blasting cannot be better told than in his own words. "After I had spent some years, not altogether indiligently, under the ferule of such masters as the place afforded, and had here attained to some competent ripeness for the university, my schoolmaster, being a great admirer of one Mr. Pelset, who was then lately come from Cambridge to be the public preacher of Leicester (a man very eminent in those times for the fame of his learning, but especially for his sacred oratory), persuaded my father, that if I might have my education under so excellent and complete a divine, it might be both a nearer and easier way to his proposed end, than by an academical institution. The motion sounded well in my father's ears, and carried fair probabilities; neither was it other than fore-compacted betwixt my schoolmaster and Mr. Pelset, so as, on both sides, it was entertained with great forwardness. The gentleman, upon essay taken of my fitness for the use of his studies, undertakes within one seven years to send me forth, no less furnished with arts, languages, and grounds of theoretical divinity, than the carefulest tutor in the strictest college of either university. Which that he might assuredly perform, to prevent the danger of any mutable thoughts in my parents or myself, he desired mutual bonds to be drawn between us." The argument of twelve children to provide for made his father yield to so likely a project for a younger son; accordingly, before long the indentures were preparing, the time was set, and the boy's suits were addressed for the journey.

It has been said that there is no evidence to show

that Hall's mind when a young man was "orderly." If by this word be meant moral order, the statement is certainly wrong. At the age of fifteen, which he has now reached, he displays that spiritual temper and that trust in Divine guidance which afterwards became so conspicuous in him. "What was the issue?" he asks. "O God, Thy Providence made and found it. Thou knowest how sincerely and heartily, in those my young years, I did cast myself upon Thy hands ; with what faithful resolution I did, in this particular occasion, resign myself over to Thy disposition : earnestly begging of Thee in my fervent prayers to order all things to the best, and confidently waiting upon Thy will for the event. Certainly, never did I, in all my life, more clearly roll myself upon the Divine providence than I did in this business. And it succeeded accordingly."

How it came about that after all he did go to Cambridge is thus told. "It fell out at this time that my elder brother, having some occasions to journey into Cambridge, was kindly entertained there by Mr. Nathanael Gilby, Fellow of Emmanuel College ; who, for that he was born in the same town with me, and had conceived some good opinion of my aptness to learning, enquired diligently concerning me, and hearing of the diversion of my father's purposes from the University, importunately dissuaded from that new course, professing to pity the loss of so good hopes. My brother, partly moved with his words, and partly won by his own eyes to a great love and reverence for an academical life, returning home, fell upon his knees to my father ; and after the report of Mr. Gilby's words and his own admiration of the place, earnestly besought



him, that he would be pleased to alter that so prejudicial resolution, that he would not suffer my hopes to be drowned in a shallow country channel ; but that he would revive his first purposes for Cambridge ; adding, in the zeal of his love, that if the chargeableness of that course were the hindrance, he did there humbly beseech him, rather to sell some part of that land, which himself should in course of nature inherit, than to abridge me of that happy means to perfect my education. No sooner had he spoken those words, than my father no less passionately condescended ; not without a vehement protestation, that, whatsoever it might cost him, I should, God willing, be sent to the University. Neither were those words sooner out of his lips, than there was a message from Mr. Pelset knocking at the door, to call me to that fairer bondage ; signifying, that the next day he expected me, with a full despatch of that business ; to whom my father replied, that he came some minutes too late, that he had now otherwise determined of me ; and, with a respectful message of thanks to the master, sent the man home empty, leaving me full of the tears of joy for so happy a change. Indeed I had been but lost, if that project had succeeded ; as it well appeared in the experience of him who succeeded in that room, which was by me thus unexpectedly forsaken. O God, how was I then taken up, with a thankful acknowledgment and joyful admiration of Thy gracious providence over me !” We may well share his joy and gratitude, and unite in admiration not only of the Providence which gave this happy issue, but also of the generous spirit of the elder brother, and the reasonable temper of the father

willing to accept and act upon the intercession of his son, even at the cost of alteration of plans and expenditure of money which he could ill afford.

And now Hall lived in the expectation of Cambridge.



CHAPTER II.

NATIONAL LIFE DURING HALL'S BOYHOOD.—EM-MANUEL COLLEGE.—SCHOLAR.—B.A.—M.A.

BEFORE we proceed to the details of Hall's career at Cambridge, it may perhaps be well to take a brief survey of the life of the nation during the years of his boyhood, and all the more because the college of which he became a distinguished member was the direct product of the forces then at work.

It was a time of gallant deeds, romantic enterprises, and atrocious crimes. Raleigh, though doomed to failure in his own attempt, had planted our first colony on the shores of Virginia, and so led the van in what afterwards became the magnificent crusade of world-wide colonisation. Our navy was beginning to acquire the splendid fame which it has never since lost. Francis Drake, when Hall was a child just out of arms, had assailed the Spaniards in their far-off western possessions, and after taking a rich booty had returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope. Thus he was the first Englishman to sail round the globe, and, more fortunate than Magellan, who died during his attempt, the first commander-in-chief. His valour had been rewarded by the presence of Elizabeth at a banquet on board the Admiral's ship. Later, with a fleet of twenty

1589
sail, he had carried the war to the West Indies, and only a year before Hall went up to Cambridge, the same brave sailor had displayed no less strategy than courage in putting to the rout the Invincible Armada. A boy of so religious a temperament as Hall must have been much impressed by hearing the struggle described as not merely for national honour, but for the existence of the Protestant faith. In his sermon on "The Defeat of Cruelty" he speaks of the deliverance in these terms : "What is it that made us so happily successful in '88, beyond all hope, beyond all conceit, but the fervency of our humble devotions? That invincible navy came on dreadfully; floating like a moving wood in the sight of our coast; those vast vessels were as so many lofty castles raised on those liquid foundations; then straight, as if those huge bottoms had been stuff with tempests, there was nothing but thunder, and lightning, and smoke, and all the terrible apparitions of death. We, what did we? we fought upon our knees, both prince and people. Straight, God fought for us from heaven. Our prayers were the gale, yea the gust, that tore those mis-consecrated flags and sails, and scattered and drenched those presumptuous piles, and sent them into the bottom of the deep, to be a parlour for whales and sea-monsters. There lay the pride of Spain, the terror of England." Sir Philip Sidney, too, had fascinated the imagination of his contemporaries no less than Drake, and, by resigning his bottle of water to the dying soldier beneath the walls of Zutphen, when he himself, parched with thirst, was at the point to die, had proved himself as much a mirror of Christian chivalry as a pattern of courtly grace. Elizabeth, at the zenith of her power,



was inspiring the heads and hearts of those around her with ambitious dreams, and dallying now with Anjou, now with Leicester, now with Essex, yet never forgot to subject her passions to her patriotism. Another queen, far fairer, of whom it is hard to think without a sigh, and almost a tear, was languishing in a prison, but even there could lead men spellbound to perilous attempts or certain death. Anthony Babington and his associates expiated their misplaced devotion with their lives, and the Queen of Scots, in 1587, also perished upon the scaffold. England had thrilled with horror at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew two years before Hall's birth, and the memory of that crime had been perpetuated by the medal struck by Gregory XIII., and the Te Deum sung to celebrate the butchery of ten thousand Protestant victims. In our own land, too, fanaticism had showed its bloody hand when Birchett, "moved by the Spirit of God," attempted in the open street to murder Mr. Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, because he was supposed to be an enemy of God's Word, and a maintainer of papistry. Before long the assassin's dagger had been more successful with the Duke of Guise and his brother the Cardinal, and Henry III., who caused their assassination, had himself met a similar fate at the hand of the friar, Jacques Clement.

Puritanism during these years had been rapidly unfolding itself, and moving onwards to its final development. Bishop Cooper, in his "Admonition to the People of England," published in the year 1589, thus summarises the progress of the movement. "At the beginning some learned and godly preachers, for private respects in themselves, made

- 2 strange to wear the surplice, cap, or tippet ; but yet so that they declared themselves to think the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them. Shortly after rose up others, defending that they were not things indifferent, but distained with antichristian idolatry, and therefore not to be suffered in the Church. Not long after came } another sort, affirming that those matters touching apparel were but trifles, and not worthy contention in the Church, but that there were greater things far, of more weight and importance, and indeed touching faith and religion, and therefore meet to be altered in a Church rightly reformed ; as the book of Common Prayer, the administration of the sacraments, the government of the Church, the election of ministers, and a number of other like.
- 4 Fourthly, now break out another sort, earnestly affirming and teaching, that we have no Church, no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments ; and therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought with all speed to separate themselves from our congregations, because our assemblies are profane, wicked, and anti-Christian. Thus have ye heard of four degrees for the overthrow of the state of the Church of England. Now lastly of all come in these men that make their whole direction against the living of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers ; that they should have no temporal lands or jurisdiction." In 1576 Grindal succeeded Parker as Primate, and how persistently obtrusive Puritanism had become, and how dangerous it appeared, is evidenced by the struggle between the Queen and the Primate respecting the exercises called " prophesyings." These, which were originally intended



to be expositions and discussions of passages of Holy Scripture for the improvement of the clergy, had become a means of attacking the established religion, and of venting all kinds of erroneous doctrines. Grindal could not see his way to obey the Queen's command and stop them ; he even had the courage, then rare, to beg her Majesty in things spiritual to be guided by her spiritual advisers ; but had he been firmer in resisting Puritan aggression, he would have spared the country the sight of its Primate suspended, and would have left an easier task for Whitgift. As it was, his neglect of discipline did no good. In 1576 the first Nonconformist congregation assembled in Plummer's Hall. In 1580, the Book of Discipline, which had been drawn up by Cartwright and Travers on the model of Calvin, was recognized as the Puritan standard. In 1582, the *Classis* was formed, a systematic attempt by parochial councils, provincial synods, and even a national synod to fill the pulpits with men of the new opinions, whose consciences were, in respect of disputed points, to be in the keeping of those by whom they were selected for the ministry. Their true ordination was supposed to be through the *Classis*, but they were allowed to apply to the bishop for the legal rite. It is not surprising that many rejoiced in the title of "no sacrament ministers," and that a letter of the Council was deemed necessary to force those who refused to celebrate the Communion to perform their priestly functions. The vigorous administration of Whitgift soon turned the tide for at least some time. In 1583, he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and before the end of 1584 a reaction

against Puritanism had set in. His subscription test, by which he required the loyal acknowledgment of the Supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles, though hotly opposed, and met by a determined effort in 1584 to obtain a parliamentary status for the *Discipline*, was successful. His elevation to the Council in 1586 secured his position, and henceforth, to the end of Elizabeth's reign, he had the command of his opponents. The *Mar-prelate* libels of 1588, with their scurrilous and profligate abuse, were but the expression of an impotent section of the party, who could not away with the patient and wiser policy of some of their brethren to "tarry for the magistrate." The effect was a widespread disgust at those who could wield such filthy weapons.

The Romanists, too, and especially their Jesuit agents, were no less energetic. As far back as 1568, Dr. Allen had founded the English College at Douay, and within five years had sent nearly a hundred missionaries into England. On the 27th of April, 1570, Pope Pius V. had issued his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, "ad quam veluti ad asylum omnium infestissimi profugium invenerunt," and in the spring of the following year Felton affixed it to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace. This Pope expressed himself willing to shed his blood if only England could be brought back to the faith, and his ardour was fully shared by Gregory XIII., who in 1572 followed him on the papal throne. He hoped to unite Don John of Austria with Philip II. of Spain in a campaign against this renegade country; but this grand conception dwindled down to the attempt made upon



Ireland under the leadership of the Irish refugee Geraldine, with the ships and money furnished at the Pope's expense, and with the aid of a contribution from the King of Spain. The adventurer lost his life, and after revolting cruelties perpetrated by the Protestants, English colonists took possession of the devastated province of Munster. The Pope, however, was resolute in his aim, and looked about for other methods. In 1579 he founded the English Jesuit College at Rome, and all who studied within its walls were pledged to return to England and there labour for the restoration of the old faith. It was in 1580 that Parsons and Campion arrived at the head of a mission, and, after reaching London, commenced their work, the one in the northern, the other in the southern counties. They were to publish books, send emissaries throughout the kingdom, and do all in their power to rouse the people from the passive attitude they maintained, during at least the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign, to an active resistance to the Protestant *régime*, and induce them to give effect to the bull of Pius V. Ranke* thus vividly describes the success they experienced: "They usually took up their abode in the dwellings of the Catholic nobles. Their coming was always announced, but the precaution was constantly taken of receiving them as strangers. A chapel had meanwhile been prepared in the most retired part of the house, into which they were conducted, and where the members of the family were assembled to receive their benediction. The missionary rarely prolonged his stay beyond one night. The evening of his

* Popes, I. p. 458.



arrival was employed in religious preparations and confession ; on the following morning, mass was read, the sacrament administered, and a sermon preached. All the Catholics who were in the neighbourhood attended, and the number was sometimes very great. The religion that for nine hundred years had ruled supreme over the island, was thus once more inculcated with the added charm of mystery and novelty. Secret synods were held, a printing-press was set up, first in a village near London, and afterwards in a lonely house in a neighbouring wood ; Catholic books once more appeared, written with all the readiness and ability derived from constant practice in controversy, and sometimes with much elegance ; the impression these works produced was strengthened by the impenetrable secrecy of their origin. The immediate result of these proceedings was, that the Catholics ceased to attend the Protestant service, and to observe the ecclesiastical edicts of the Queen ; and that the opposite party insisted on their opinions with increased violence, while persecution became more severe and oppressive." Campion and others were executed December 1st, 1581. Parsons escaped to the Continent. The Jesuit plotters, however, were by no means extinguished ; Church and State alike were menaced by their machinations : their theories of government were well known ; and Burleigh's tract, "Execution of Justice in England for Treason and not for Religion," would seem to be the approximate expression of the truth. At Ashby, with its Calvinistic "bishop," the Jesuits and their doings could not fail to be a subject of engrossing interest ; and Hall's mind may very early have been tinctured with that antipathy which led him afterwards to describe



an English Jesuit as the most venomous of his kind.

A good insight into the inner life of the Church is afforded by the visitation articles of inquiry issued by the bishops, fixing, as they do, what was requisite and necessary, and at the same time indicating those points wherein deficiencies still existed. A visitor to a representative church in the first decade of Hall's life would have seen, amongst other things, specially the Book of Common Prayer with Parker's new Kalender, a Psalter, the English Bible in the largest volume, the two tomes of the Homilies, the Paraphrases of Erasmus translated into English, the table of the Ten Commandments, a convenient pulpit well placed, a comely and decent table standing on a frame for the Holy Communion, with a fair linen cloth to lay upon the same, and some covering, of silk, buckram, or other such like, for the clean keeping thereof; a fair and comely Communion cup of silver, and a cover of silver for the same, which might serve also for the ministration of the Communion bread; a decent large surplice with sleeves, to say nothing of a sure coffer, with two locks and keys, for the keeping of the register book, and a strong chest or box for the alms of the poor, with three locks and keys to the same. The Communion table would have been full of interest, for it was expected that all altars should be utterly taken down and clean removed, even unto the foundation, and the place where they stood paved, and the wall whereunto they joined whited over, and made uniform with the rest, so that no breach or rupture should appear. A change, too, would have been found to have come over the rood-loft; the cross beam alone was left.

Instead of the crucifix some convenient crest would have been put upon the same. No old service-books would have been seen, or if they were stowed away in some dusty corner, they would be defaced, rent, and well-nigh abolished. The vestments, albs, tunics, stoles, phanons, pixes, panes, handbells, sacring bells, censers, chrismatories, crosses, candlesticks, holy-water stocks, and images, would be utterly defaced, broken, and destroyed, since these were regarded as relics and monuments of superstition and idolatry. The parson, vicar, curate, or minister would not dare to wear a cope in his parish church, for the Advertisements had long since restricted the use of that vestment as a minimum for the Cathedral, and had allowed him in the same regard the use of a goodly surplice. Nor would he venture to minister the holy communion in any chalice heretofore used at mass, or in any profane cup or glass, or to indulge in any gestures, rites, or ceremonies not appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, as crossing or breathing over the sacramental bread and wine, or showing the same to the people to be worshipped and adored, or any such like, or to use any oil and chrism, tapers, spattle, or any other popish ceremony in the ministration of the sacrament of baptism. The new calendar would be closely followed. And at that well-ordered church there would be no ringing or tolling of bells to call the people together upon the abrogated holy days or fasting days, more than upon the ordinary work days. The passing bell, however, would be tolled when a parishioner was passing out of this life, to move the people to pray for the sick person; and when the sick person had passed away one short



peal might be rung before the burial and another short peal after it. More than this was superfluous and superstitious. On All Saints' Day, after evening prayer, the bells in the steeple would not speak forth as heretofore, that being supposed to tend to the maintenance of purgatory, or of prayer for the dead. One bell might be rung or tolled in convenient time before the sermon on Sundays and holy days, but the sweet music which once told the people far and wide that to-morrow a hero of the Church would be commemorated was a thing of the past, wherein was excess. Great stress would be laid upon catechising. The names of all children, apprentices, and servants of both sexes, being above seven years of age and under twenty, would be known to the good parish priest, who every Sunday and holy day would diligently, for half-an-hour at the least, before or at the evening prayer, instruct them in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, and the Catechism as it was then allowed and set forth. This was very important, since none could be admitted to Holy Communion who could not if under fourteen *say by heart* the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, or if above that age and under twenty, the Catechism as well; nor was marriage so easy as at the present day. None might be married who could not say the Catechism.

In the parish we are supposing, the incumbent would be resident, and would dwell continually upon his benefice, doing his duty in preaching, reading, and ministering the sacraments, keeping hospitality as far as his means would allow, and having his house and chancel well repaired and upholden.

If absent from his benefice, no rude and unlearned person would be found in charge, but an honest and well-learned expert curate, who could and would teach the people wholesome doctrine ; he would also see that at least one-fortieth of the fruits of his benefice was distributed among the poor. Neither incumbent nor curate would think himself well equipped for his work, if under the degree of a Master of Arts, unless he had of his own at the least the New Testament both in English and Latin ; nor would his conscience be at rest, unless every day with good advisement he conferred one chapter of the Latin and English together at the least, and in due season gave account thereof to the bishop or the bishop's representative. He would be neither a preacher of corrupt and popish doctrine, nor a maintainer of sectaries, like too many around him, dispraising the Book of Common Prayer, and favouring secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings contrary to the law. He would keep a sharp look-out after popish priests, either going as priests, or disguised in other apparel, resorting secretly or openly into his parish, and would find out by whom they were received, harboured, and relieved. Many of his brethren were hunters, hawkers, dicers, carders, tablers, swearers. Of course he would be none of these, but would find his pleasure in reading or hearing some part of the Holy Scripture, or other good author, or in some other godly or laudable exercise, meet for his vocation. Some of them turned the parsonage into the alehouse, tippling-house, or tavern, and sold ale, beer, wine, or victuals. He would be far from this. A part of his duty, which



he would certainly not omit, would be, every Sunday, after reading the second lesson at morning and evening prayer, to admonish the churchwardens and sidesmen to look to their charge in observing and noting such as absented themselves from Divine service, or behaved irreverently thereat. Even these responsible officers sometimes, when they should have been at church observing others that were absent, were themselves away at home, or, shocking to relate! in some tavern or alehouse, or else about some worldly business, or at bowls, cards, tables, or other gaming, without regard of their office and duty. Much more the people. They were in the habit of coming very late to church, and there walking, talking, and otherwise irreverently behaving themselves; or they might be seen sitting in the streets or churchyard in the time of common prayer. By a statute made in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, there was a forfeiture of twelve pence for every such offence, and the wardens were expected to rigorously exact the same and put it to the use of the poor. Fairs, too, and common markets might fall upon the Sunday, and the irreligious in their love of filthy lucre were prone to use the churchyards and show their wares before morning service was over. Occasionally there was as little regard for the inside as for the outside of the sacred building. Lords of misrule, summer lords and ladies, disguised persons or others, in Christmas or at May-games, or morris-dancers, would come irreverently into the church, or chapel, or churchyard, and there dance, or play unseemly parts with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, in the time of Divine service. Stubbs, in his "Anatomie

of Abuses" (A.D. 1595), thus speaks of their practice :—"The wilde heades of the parish, flocking together, chuse them a graund captaine of mischiefe, whom they innoble with the title of my Lord of Misrule. . . . In this sorte they go to the church (though the minister be at prayer or preaching), dauncing and swinging their handkerchiefs over their heads like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can heare his owne voyce. Then the foolish people, they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleere, and mount upon formes and pews to see these goodly pageants solemnised in this sort. Then after this, aboute the church they go againe and againe, and so fourthe into the churchyard, where they have commonly their summer-halls, their bowers, arbours, and banquetting houses . . . and thus they spend the Sabbath Day." What with all this, the popish recusants, the Non-conformist sectaries, the insinuating schoolmasters, the users of magic, sorcery, witchcraft, charms, or unlawful prayers or invocations in Latin, or otherwise, in particular midwives, whose opportunities for mischief were shrewdly suspected, a clergyman in those days must have had as many calls upon his time and led nearly as busy a life as the head of a large town parish at the present day.

We have deviated from the direct line of the memoir in hand, but it comes within the scope of the author's intention to give as far as practicable some account of the contemporary history of our country. The reader will perhaps therefore pardon the digression, and all the more because every man is more or less moulded by circumstances, and is the child of the times in which he is born.



Let us now revert to the university of which Hall was on the point of becoming a member, and briefly trace the course of events during the few years immediately preceding the date of his matriculation, for the most part taking as our guide Mr. Bass Mullinger's admirable history of Cambridge. Puritanism was growing stronger, and, but for Baro, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity (1574-96), would have had nearly undisputed sway. He maintained the theses that the *first love of God is of the nature of justifying faith, that justifying faith is enjoined in the Decalogue*,—positions which involved him in a controversy with Chaderton in the year 1581. The latter denounced them in a public meeting, or in a sermon, whereupon he was cited by Baro before the Vice-Chancellor. The dispute was less acrimonious than, unfortunately, was too often the case, and it is much to the credit of both that Chaderton could speak of his opponent as a man for whom he certainly entertained a great affection. Fourteen years after this Baro was to resume the attack on Calvinism, and that time to pay for his devotion to truth with banishment from the home and office of two-and-twenty years. In 1582 Beza presented to the University a polyglot Pentateuch, printed at Constantinople, together with the famous Codex Bezae, and was thanked, we are told, by the public orator in terms which made the authority of the Calvinistic professor only second to that of Scripture itself. In 1584 the *Discipline*, the product of the joint labour of Thomas Cartwright and Walter Travers, was printed anew at Cambridge. Both were well known in the University, Cartwright having been appointed Margaret Professor in 1570, and having used his

point of vantage for discrediting Episcopacy, for which grave misdemeanour he had been deprived of his professorship and fellowship, and expelled from his *alma mater*; while Travers, as Fellow of Trinity and B.D., had made himself almost as conspicuous by disdaining our orders and being "called to the ministry" by a congregation at Antwerp. He was destined for further notoriety through the inglorious defeat he sustained at the hands of Hooker. The university press was directed by its superintendent to controversial ends; Thomas Thomas, who was designated by Martin Marprelate the "Cambridge Puritan printer," publishing in 1586 a translation of the *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei*, an attempt to show, with how much success may be imagined, that Luther and Calvin were essentially at one in their teaching. But perhaps nothing more clearly indicates the tendency of events than the sermon preached the same year at Great St. Mary's by John Smith of Christ's. It appears that at that time plays were performed even on Sunday evenings, a practice which was sternly denounced by the preacher. It is true that he was cited for his temerity before the deputy Vice-Chancellor and other Heads, and was constrained to offer explanations. Public opinion, however, as to Sabbath observance, had been much influenced by "Mr. Greenham, his Book of the Sabbath," of which Fuller says no book in that age made greater impression on people's practice. He died three years after Hall entered at Emmanuel. The following ode describes both author and book :—

"While Greenham writeth of the Sabbath's rest,
His soul enjoys not what his pen express'd:
His work enjoys not what itself doth say,



For it shall never find one resting day ;
A thousand hands shall toss each page and line,
Which shall be scanned by a thousand eine,
That Sabbath's rest, or this Sabbath's unrest,
Hard is to say whether's the happiest."

J. HALL.

In 1586-7 Whitaker became head of John's. He and Chaderton, the first head of Emmanuel, had married sisters, and both favoured the Puritan rather than the Anglican party, not only in doctrine, but also in discipline. His attempt to expel one of the Fellows, Everard Digby, who had the courage to denounce Calvinists as schismatics, indicates his real opinions. Secret meetings were held at the College, when Cartwright occasionally stole up and sat in conclave with the master, Chaderton, and Fulk, the rancorous disputant and Head of Pembroke. Sometimes Travers, Greenham, and Perkins, whom, according to Fuller, all held for a prophet, might be seen there. This last was a Fellow of Christ's, and a preacher at St. Andrew's. "He would pronounce the word *damn* with such an emphasis as left a doleful echo in his auditor's ears, and when Catechist of Christ's College, in expounding the Commandments, applied them so home, able almost to make his hearers' hearts fall down, and hairs stand upright." Notwithstanding this, it is gratifying to learn that he was of a "cheerful nature and pleasant disposition." The great subject at these meetings was the *Discipline*, which was talked over, revised, corrected, and finally adopted as the true account of the Christian Church. The very year in which Hall went up to the University, a general meeting of the brethren was held at St. John's, Cartwright and others

present, wherein it was agreed that so many as would should subscribe the said book.

It is with Emmanuel College, however, that we are more particularly concerned, since there Hall spent the next twelve or thirteen years of his life, and that foundation was the expression in stone and timber of what elsewhere manifested itself in paper and ink—it was the recognised academic centre of Puritanism, to which it was in Cambridge what Keble College is intended to be to Anglicanism at Oxford.*

Side by side with the movement for the abolition of our discipline another was advancing, a few years before the date at which we have arrived, which was well calculated to utterly change the character of the Universities. In the Session of 1584-5, a paper of sixteen petitions had been drawn up by the House of Commons, and presented to the House of Lords. Amongst the most noteworthy of these, was one requesting that "Where in certain Colleges, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, the foundation or statutes require such as are there placed to be ministers, it shall be lawful for such as are known to profess the study of divinity, or otherwise be lawfully dispensed withal, to retain any fellowship or prebend within the said Colleges, notwithstanding they be no ministers." This was only to renew an attempt which two or three years previously had been made to introduce the principle of the endowment of theological research.

* For much interesting information respecting Emmanuel, I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A., late one of its Fellows, whose kindness I have also acknowledged in the preface.



“The aim,” says Mr. Mullinger, “of the petitioners would seem to have been to encourage the study of divinity as a recognised pursuit among the senior members of the University, and thus to form within its precincts a body of sound and well-read divines, whose studious leisure should be unbroken by *duties either of pulpit or the cure*.” The change, however, would have tended more to the advancement of controversy and contentiousness, than of any solid gain to the Church, and the bishops were not slow to resist the innovation. The proposition was met by seventeen counter-objections. To admit the change would be, it was urged, to overthrow the statutes of almost all the Colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, seeing that they had been founded principally for the study of divinity, and to deprive the Church of England of the worthiest, best learned, and wisest ministers and preachers, for though there were divers who could preach, etc., yet they had no substance of learning in them, neither were they able to stand with the adversary, either in pulpit or disputation; a thing as well required in a minister as exhortation. At that time there were in the University of Cambridge a hundred preachers at the least, very worthy men, and not many less in the University of Oxford. The number was daily increasing; but if this might take place, the bishops ventured to predict there would not be five ministers in either of them. Everyone, to keep the comfortable places provided by the Colleges, would openly profess the study of divinity, and secretly study the one law or the other, or physic, or some trifling study all his life long, and so a layman would live idly on the spoil of the Church except he taught a benefice. Preaching

would decay. A beggarly, unlearned, and contemptible clergy would be bred. A great confusion in the Church and commonwealth would result. In short, it was a piece of T. C., his platform, and covertly a shove at the Gospel, to place the lawyers and others as they pleased.

The profound distrust displayed by the bishops was, curiously enough, shared by some of the distinguished leaders of the Puritans themselves, amongst them by Walter Mildmay, who, knighted in the first year of Edward VI., had afterwards become Chancellor of the Exchequer to Queen Elizabeth, and was the founder of the family of the Earls of Westmoreland. To him belongs also the honour of being the founder of Emmanuel College. An ardent Protestant, and anxious to promote his faith in every possible way, the idea occurred to him that he would do this with effect were he to establish a College at Cambridge, for the express object of training for the ministry. Accordingly, on January 11th, 1583-4, the charter for Emmanuel was given, and, before long, there rose, on the site of a house once occupied by Preaching Friars, a house for the fiercest assailants of the creed so long there confessed. "And the manner in which the remains of the ancient buildings were adapted to the purpose, seems designed to express the animus of the foundation. The chapel was converted into the hall and parlour; the fireplace round which the Fellows sat being on the spot once occupied by the high altar. The refectory was turned into a chapel, facing, as was observed, north and south." No wonder that when Sir Walter came soon after to court, the Queen said, "Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation;" nor



that with much discretion he replied, "No, Madam, far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws ; but I have set an acorn which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." Elsewhere he says, "We have founded the College, with the design that it should be, by the grace of God, a seminary of learned men for the supply of the Church, and for the sending forth of as large a number as possible of those who shall instruct the people in the Christian faith. We would not have any Fellow suppose that we have given him in this College a perpetual abode." To secure these ends, the important statute *De mora sociorum* was framed, whereby every Fellow was requierd to vacate his fellowship within a year of taking his degree. The College soon attracted many whose names are famous in the annals of nonconformity, and gave to the New World John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College. The acorn grew, and at the time of the Commonwealth became a tree overshadowing all Cambridge. Bradshaw, President of the court which condemned Charles I., Cromwell's son Henry, and Sir Philip Meadows, one of his Latin secretaries, were educated there, and no less than eleven other colleges were ruled by masters who had come from thence.

The first master was Laurence Chaderton, who had been an intimate friend of Mildmay's at Christ's, and for seventeen years preceding his appointment had lectured at St. Clement's. He, it will be remembered, was one of the Puritan divines at the Hampton Court Conference, where he conducted himself so decorously that King James chose him as one of the revisers of the Bible. He was a man

of learning and piety, and during his long mastership of thirty-nine years devoted himself to his charge with no interest save that which springs from unselfish affection. He was a diligent commentator, and acquired a reputation as a preacher, being endowed not only with intellectual power, but with a voice very clear and pleasing and of astonishing flexibility, great dignity of manner, and propriety of action. His success at times appears to have been marked. "Once in a town not far from Manchester (Oldham was his birthplace) he undertook to officiate, and in a short time, by the Divine help, he wrought such a change that more than ten pints of wine was wanted at the next celebration, whereas only one had before been sufficient. At another place, having once preached for two hours, he said that he had tired his hearers' patience and would leave off; upon which the whole congregation cried out: 'For God's sake, Sir, go on, we beg you—go on!' He accordingly continued the thread of his discourse for another hour, to the great pleasure and delight of his hearers." With such an example at the head of the college, all the more striking because up to this time preaching was rare in the university, Hall could not fail to have his thoughts directed to the sphere in which he himself laboured with so much diligence and success.

From the first the College set academic usage at defiance, using its own form of religious service, and discarding surplices and hoods, both at morning and evening prayer, and at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There was a careless disregard even of the cap and gown, and suppers were given on Fridays. Perhaps it was for these reasons that until 1650



Emmanuel was not placed upon the same footing as the other colleges, and admitted to the cycle for the nomination of proctors, etc. Hall, early in his career, in his letter to Wadsworth describes it in enthusiastic terms : " Was not your youth spent in a society of such comely order, strict government, wise laws, religious care (it was ours, yet let me praise it to your shame) as may justly challenge, after all brags, either Rhemes or Douay, or if your Jesuits have any other den more cleanly or more worthy of ostentation ;" and in the retrospect of a long life could speak of it as strict and well ordered. This is not of necessity inconsistent with the ritual irregularities already mentioned, which eventually became a subject of scandal, and, as being a practical exemplification of the principles of the *Disciplina*, called forth a formal protest at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The following account of the mode of reception at Holy Communion vividly illustrates, due allowance being made for the evident exaggeration, the tone of the College. "In Emmanuel College they receive the Holy Sacrament, sitting upon forms about the Communion table, and doe pull the loafe one from the other, after the minister hath begon. And soe the Cupp, one drinking as it were to another, like good fellows, without any particular application of the saide words, more than once for all."

Such was the society of which Hall became a member, and it is hard to forbear the expression of our admiration for the independence of mind and liberality of thought which enabled him, amid storms of controversy, gradually to take his stand as far from Geneva on the one side as from Rome

on the other. Thanks to Mr. Mullinger, we are able to form a fair idea of the undergraduate life of the time. The boy fresh from the small country town would share in the pride and exultation with which Peter Baro in 1588, preaching before the University, spoke of her stately buildings and ample revenues, of the combination of external splendour with internal comfort and luxury presented by her colleges, though at first he himself would not enjoy either comfort or luxury. The colleges were overcrowded, and each student shared a single room with three, or, at least, two other occupants. It was only on attaining the rank of a Fellow that a collegian had a room to himself. The great majority of his fellow-students belonged to the humbler classes. The ideal undergraduate was a beautiful object, seldom, it is said, met with in real life. "He was a decorous, modest, soberly attired youth, who made his college his habitual home. Whenever he issued forth beyond its gates, it was only with the express permission of his tutor or the dean. Unless it devolved upon him as a sizar or poor scholar to perform some menial errand for a superior, he was always accompanied by a fellow collegian (Cholmley would be Hall's companion). He wore his academic gown, reaching to his ankles, and unless a scholar a round cloth cap" (Hall, coming from Emmanuel, would be a notable exception). "He loitered neither in the market-place nor in the streets, and shunned alike the lodging-house and the tavern. He attended no cock-fights, no baitings of bears or of bulls, no fencing matches; the popular and apparently innocent diversion of quoits could not attract him, neither as a player nor even as a spectator. He



neither bathed nor boated. At the early morning service at five o'clock, and again in the evening, he was regularly to be seen in his place in the college chapel. On Sundays, feast-days, and Eves, he wore a shining surplice, and although the garment was then five times more costly than at the present day, no narrowness of means could prevent him from possessing it in due newness and cleanness." (Here again Hall would certainly not reach the standard). "Not less assiduous would be his attendance on the public lectures in the schools specially designed to assist him in his undergraduate course of study—a patient attentive auditor from the commencement of each lecture to its close. His common places in the college chapel and his public 'acts' were regularly and carefully performed without flippancy, personalities, or paradox. At Christmas, amid the licence permitted even by statute at that festive season, he might venture to take a hand at cards, but he invariably refused to touch the dice-box." As for his studies, his first year would be given to Rhetoric, which had taken the place of mathematics; his second and third chiefly to Logic, the logic not of Aristotle but of Ramus, nowhere so influential as at Cambridge, where, from his known accession to the ranks of Calvinism, he had the sympathy of the Puritan party, and an able exponent in the Master of Emmanuel. History was pursued with but little intelligence. The languages were comparatively neglected. Latin of course was indispensable; for the last forty years of the century Greek was only not extinct. Theologians had taken up an attitude of hostility to the "new learning," and the fruit of their indiscretion was what might have been

expected. Hebrew, from the days of Bucer and Fagius, had not wanted competent teachers, though Edward Lively (Regius Professor 1575-1605) either very rarely lectured, or succeeded in gaining but few hearers. The staple of the academic culture was logic and rhetoric, with which the best students combined some knowledge of the ethics, physics, and metaphysics of the time; but over and above all, pervading all, was Theology, which, so far from realising its office, was not only narrow and intolerant, but had the temerity even to dictate to Physical Science.

Hall had passed two years amid such scenes, and in pursuing such studies, when circumstances compelled him to leave college and return home. His father, "whose not very large cistern was to feed many pipes besides his," under the pressure of small means, and at the suggestion of unwise friends, had consented to accept for him the post of master in his old school at Ashby. Once more Hall's hopes of academic distinction were on the point of being crushed. How the disaster was averted he himself tells :—"Now was I fetched home, with a heavy heart: and now, this second time, had mine hopes been nipped in the blossom, had not God raised me up an unhoped benefactor, Mr. Edmund Sleigh of Derby (whose pious memory I have cause ever to love and reverence), out of no other relation to me, save that he married my aunt. Pitying my too apparent dejectedness, he voluntarily urged and solicited my father for my return to the University, and offered freely to contribute the one half of my maintenance there, till I should attain to the degree of Master of Arts; which he no less really and lovingly performed.



The condition was gladly accepted." Hall now returned with joy to Emmanuel, and, ere long, being chosen Scholar "of that strict and well ordered College," his pecuniary embarrassments were relieved. In 1592 he proceeded to the B.A., and after three years more was of sufficient standing for the M.A., and eligible for a fellowship. How he gained his fellowship, what he had been doing in the meantime, and how he occupied himself during the six or seven years he held it, must be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER III.

*FELLOW OF EMMANUEL.—PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC.
—HEAD MASTER OF BLUNDEL'S SCHOOL.—THE
OFFER OF HALSTED.—THE SATIRES.—"MUNDUS
ALTER ET IDEM."*

BY a statute of the College only one of a shire could be fellow there at a given time, and Leicestershire was already represented by Mr. Nicholas Gilby, Hall's tutor. Hall was therefore excluded, and, the stipulated time for the allowance from his uncle being about to terminate, he was now entertaining notions of removal. The gracious Providence which seemed to keep him in all his ways was never more conspicuous than here. His own account is as follows :—"A place was offered me in the island of Guernsey, which I had in speech and chase. It fell out, that the father of my loving chamber-fellow, Mr. Cholmley, a gentleman that had likewise dependence upon the most noble Henry Earl of Huntingdon, having occasion to go to York, unto that his honourable Lord, fell into some mention of me. That good Earl, who well esteemed my father's service, having belikely heard some better words of me than I could deserve, made earnest inquiry after me—what were my courses, what my hopes ; and, hearing of the likelihood of my removal, professed much dislike of it ; not without some vehemence, demanding why I was



not chosen Fellow of that College, wherein by report I received such approbation. Answer was returned that my county debarred me ; which, being filled with my tutor, whom his Lordship well knew, could not by the statute admit a second. The Earl presently replied, that, if that were the hindrance, he would soon take order to remove it. Whereupon his Lordship presently sends for my tutor, Mr. Gilby, unto York, and with proffers of large conditions of the chaplainship in his house, and assured promises of better provisions, drew him to relinquish his place in the College to a free election. No sooner was his assent signified, than the days were set for the public (and, indeed, exquisite) examination of the competitors. By that time two of the three allotted to this trial were past, certain news came to us of the unexpected death of that incomparably religious and noble Earl of Huntingdon ; by whose loss my then disappointed tutor must necessarily be left to the wide world unprovided for. Upon notice thereof, I presently repaired to the Master of the College, Mr. Dr. Chaderton ; and besought him to tender that hard condition to which my good tutor must needs be driven, if the election proceeded ; to stay any farther progress in that business ; and to leave me to my own good hopes wheresoever, whose youth exposed me to less needs, and more opportunities of provision. Answer was made me, that the place was pronounced void, however ; and, therefore, that my tutor was divested of all possibility of remedy, and must wait upon the providence of God for his disposing elsewhere, and the election must necessarily proceed the day following. Then was I, with a cheerful unanimity, chosen into that

society ; which, if it had any equals, I daresay had none beyond it, for good order, studious carriage, strict government, austere piety ; in which I spent six or seven years more, with such contentment, as the rest of my life hath in vain striven to yield." The lapse of years is wont to soften in recollection the hardships and discomforts of long ago. We might therefore suppose that this account of his frame of mind at Emmanuel had more of fancy than of fact ; but writing while still at Cambridge he says :—

" 'Mongst all these stirs of discontented strife,
Oh ! let me lead an academic life.
To know much, and to think we nothing know ;
Nothing to have, yet think we have enow :
In skill to want, and wanting seek for more ;
In weale, nor want nor wish for greater store.
Envy, ye monarchs, with your proud excess,
At our low sail, and our high happiness."

He was now called to public disputations often, and with no ill success. It may have been at this time that he became noted in the University for ingeniously maintaining that *mundus senescit*, the world groweth old. "Yet in some sort," says Fuller, "his position confuteth his position ; the wit and quickness whereof did argue an increase rather than a decay of parts in this latter age." It was his practice never to appear in any of these exercises of scholarship till he had from his knees looked up to heaven for a blessing, and renewed his actual dependence upon the Divine Hand. His reputation had thus extended beyond the walls of his college, and his next advancement was to the post of Rhetoric Lecturer in the public schools,



which he held for two years. The success which had hitherto attended him did not now forsake him ; on the contrary, his lectures drew numerous auditors and were well applauded. But still the work was somewhat out of his way ; he was not altogether at ease in having wandered from the path marked out for him in life, and in having neglected to devote himself to the ministry. He accordingly, "in the midst of those poor acclamations," gave up the office to Dr. Dod, and, betaking himself to the serious study of divinity, after a while entered holy orders. "The honour whereof having once attained, I was no niggard of the talent which my God had entrusted to me, preaching often as occasion was offered, both in country villages abroad, and at home in the most awful auditory of the University."

He was now only waiting for further employment, and before long, in a way little expected, a door was opened to him. Just about that time, in the year 1599, Blundel had built and endowed that "famous school" at Tiverton, which, connected with Balliol College, Oxford, and Sydney College, Cambridge, by scholarships and fellowships, has given the world many men of mark, among them Frederick Temple, Bishop of London. The care of it was entrusted chiefly to Chief Justice Popham, who having great interest in the Master of Emmanuel, moved him earnestly to commend some able, learned, and discreet governor, such as should not need so much as his oversight. Dr. Chaderton recommended Hall, assuring him "of no small advantages, and no great toil, since it was intended the main load of the work should lie upon other

shoulders." Good offers in the severe society of Emmanuel came but seldom, and it was neither wise nor safe to refuse them. Hall therefore entertained the offer, not with any intention of abandoning divinity, to which he had been destined by his parents, but purposing to pass through that western school to it. The next step was an introduction to the Lord Chief Justice. The Master and Fellow of Emmanuel travelled together to London, and there, with much testimony of approbation, Hall was presented to Popham, who was well pleased with the choice, and promised his full support, and so the interview ended. No sooner had Hall parted from the Judge than, in the street, a messenger presented him with a letter from Lady Drury, tendering the Rectory of Halsted, then newly void, and very earnestly desiring him to accept it. Dr. Chaderton observing in him some change of countenance, asked him what the matter might be. He explained how matters stood, and besought his master's advice, at the same time giving him the letter to read. "Sir," quoth he, "methinks God pulls me by the sleeve, and tells me it is His will I should rather go to the east than to the west." "Nay," answered Chaderton, "I should rather think that God would have you to go westward, for that He hath contrived your engagement before the tender of this letter, which therefore, coming too late, may receive a fair and easy answer." Hall, however, saw that God, Who found him ready to go the farther way about to the work of the sacred ministry, was now calling him the nearest and most direct way. His friend no longer opposed, but only pleaded the offence

which would justly be taken by the Lord Chief Justice. Hereupon Hall undertook to fully satisfy him, which he did with no great difficulty, commending to his Lordship his old friend and chamber-fellow, Mr. Cholmley. The nomination was accepted, and the two who came together to the University now left it together. Cholmley, for some reason or other, was not after all appointed to Blundel's; Hall *did* settle at Halsted, "in that sweet and civil county of Suffolk, near to St. Edmond's Bury."

From these outlines of his career at Emmanuel, in the main as sketched by himself, we should never have known that he had a claim to be ranked among English poets, and that his fame as a satirist at one time eclipsed the reputation he gained as a divine. In 1597, when only twenty-three, he published three books of Toothless Satires, Poetical, Academical, and Moral.

This volume was followed in 1598 by three books of Biting Satires, and in 1599 there appeared an edition of the six books bound up together. Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft, deeming it dangerous, had the work stopped at the press, and ordered that such copies as could be found in circulation should be collected and burnt in public. This timidity is not to be wondered at after the experience of the Marprelate libellers and a host of others, and Hall's was no exceptional treatment, the "Scourge of Villany," published by his rival Marston (of whom more presently), in 1598 being likewise consigned to the flames. For nearly two hundred years the Satires were almost forgotten, until in 1753, under the direction of the Rev. W. Thompson,

formerly Fellow of Queen's, there appeared an edition at Oxford. Warton's commendation gave them a place among classical English poetry. Various editions were subsequently issued, and only five years since they were again edited by Dr. Grosart,* who has elucidated some points hitherto obscure, and given many suggestive hints. In his prologue, Hall claims to be the first English satirist :

"I first adventure with foolhardy might
To tread the steps of perilous despight ;
I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English Satirist."

The claim has been hotly contested, and, if its justice is to stand or fall with the date of the publication of the Satires, it has been said that he is not to be reckoned either first, second, or third, but at the most fourth English satirist. Edward Hake had published satires as far back as 1567 ; George Gascoigne's "Steele Glas" appeared in 1576 ; and Dr. Lodge's "Fig for Momus" in 1595. As for the two former, their claim cannot be withstood. As for the latter, although he published two years before Hall, it is not so certain that he preceded him in composition. In the author's charge prefixed to the Biting Satires he speaks of his

"Luckless rhymes, whom not unkindly spite
Begot *long since* of truth and holy rage."

May he not have composed at least part of them soon after taking his degree in 1592 ? But, whatever may be his position chronologically, his ori-

* The author begs to express his gratitude to Dr. Grosart, though he finds it impossible at all times to accept his judgment, or agree with him in his reading of Hall's character.

ginality cannot be gainsaid. Save the Satires of Ariosto and one base French satire, he had never had sight of any for his direction ; and there is a sense in which the honour of being the first English satirist may be conceded to him. He was undoubtedly the first who endeavoured to take a place among our writers corresponding to that of Juvenal, Perseus, and Horace among the writers of Rome ; he was the first who strove to imitate them, and so the first to introduce among us the classical standard of English satire.

The Satires attracted much attention, and Meres, in his "Wit's Treasurie," almost immediately after publication (in 1598) mentions Hall as celebrated for such composition. This is all the more surprising since he had served his mistress, Poetry, "only with the broken messes of our twelve o'clock hours, which homely service she only claimed and found of him, for that short while of his attendance,"—that is to say, presumably, that he had not neglected more serious duties, nor devoted to the work any time beyond that of odd hours. He invites the muses to witness how "he wilfull sung those headdy rhymes" (the Toothless Satires) "withouten second care." That he should have made any stir at all says much for his watchfulness and insight into human nature, with its vices, its weaknesses, its faults, and its failings. The burning protest of the Court of High Commission has been already noticed. Other critics, though less powerful, were equally hostile. Some thought the Satires indecorous in the author, because poems ; others because satire was unlawful in itself ; some thought them harmful to others, because of their acidity ; others thought

them no satires at all, because so mild ; the learned deemed them too perspicuous compared with Juvenal and Perseus ; the unlearned found no savour in them, because too obscure. Still, great judges have set the mint-mark of their approval upon them. Pope esteemed them "the best poetry and truest satire in the English language," and had an intention of modernizing them. He carefully read, in particular, the first of the tenth book, and wrote at the top *Optima Satira*. Gray considered them to be "full of spirit and poetry, as much of the first as Dr. Donne, and far more of the latter. Lord Hailes judged them to have merit, and predicted that they would be remembered. Campbell said that in reading Hall we might frequently imagine ourselves perusing Dryden. Whalley thought his verses in general extremely musical and flowing, and that many of his lines would do honour to the most ingenious of our modern poets. Warton says, "They are distinguished by a classical precision, to which English poetry had yet rarely attained. They are replete with animation of style and sentiment. The indignation of the satirist is always the result of good sense. Nor are the thorns of severe invective unmixed with the flowers of pure poetry. The characters are delineated in strong and lively colouring ; and their discriminations are touched with the masterly traces of genuine humour. The versification is equally energetic and elegant, and the fabric of the couplets approaches to the modern standard. It is no inconsiderable proof of a genius predominating over the general taste of an age when every preacher was a punster, to have written verses, when laughter was to be raised, and the reader to be

entertained with sallies of pleasantry, without quibbles and conceits. His chief fault is obscurity, arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elliptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression."

There were two occasions, separated by a long interval, on which Hall's love of the muses exposed him to much unmerited scorn from two men, even farther apart in character and repute than they were in time. His first assailant was Jacob or James Wadsworth, who had been fellow-student with him at Emmanuel, and from a benefice in Suffolk had gone into Spain as English tutor to the Infanta, then regarded as the future bride of Charles I. There he was prevailed upon to abandon both his religion and his country. This drew from Hall an epistle, in which he expostulated with him for his apostasy, and persuaded him to return. "Once," said he, "the same walls held us in one loving society ; the same diocese, in one honourable function ; now, not one land, and, which I lament, not one Church." In the letter there is much, doubtless, which could not fail to be offensive to a proselyte anxious to vindicate his new choice ; but, upon the whole, affection predominates over censure, and even in the inevitably artificial style of a formal composition, it is easy to see a genuine regard for the erring one. Wadsworth afterwards becoming involved in a controversy with Bedell,* replied hotly and contemptuously to a letter addressed to him, which contained certain allusions

* William Bedell, the well-known Head of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Kilmore and Armagh, the friend of Paul Sarpi and Antonio de Dominis, was born four years before Hall. He was educated at Emmanuel College, of which he

to Hall, he would not "soil his fingers with such an adversary," and more to the same effect. Hall retorts that an English University had not scorned to set him in the chair of divinity. Wadsworth had taxed him with two vices, poetry and railing. As for the latter, nothing could have been written more mildly, modestly, or lovingly, than his letter. "Of the former," he says, "I must acquit myself, *cujus unum est sed magnum vitium poesis*. What were I the worse if I were still a lover of these studies?" Most of the renowned and holy Fathers of the Church were eminent in that profession for which he was scorned. Amongst many others, Tertullian, Lactantius, Nazianzen, Prudentius, Fulgentius, Apollinarius, Nonus, Hilarius, Prosper, and now in the upshot devout Bernard; and why should their honour be his disgrace? But the truth was, those were the recreations of his minority, now forgotten. He concludes, "What my proficiency hath been in serious studies, if the University and Church hath pleased to testify, what need I stand at the mercy of a fugitive? But if any of his (Wadsworth's) masters should undertake me in the cause of God, he should find that I had studied prose."

His other antagonist on this score was none other than John Milton himself. Close upon half a century had passed since the Satires had birth, and Hall meanwhile had risen from his Fellowship at Emmanuel to the Sec of Exeter, when the indiscretion of having been a poet was again cast in his

became Fellow in 1503, two years before Hall attained the like honour. At Bury, in Suffolk, where he settled for some years, he would be a neighbour of the Rector of Halsted, and the intimacy of college friendship was thus extended.

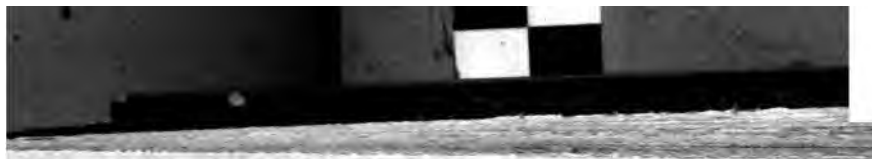


teeth. The Bishop's son, with ill-advised zeal for his father's honour in the Smectymnuan controversy, had raked together a collection of groundless scandals connected with Milton's college days. The great poet was cut to the quick, and took his revenge in part by a fierce assault upon the Bishop's early efforts in that sphere, where he himself stands almost supreme. "Lighting upon the title of Toothless Satires, I will not conceal what I thought, readers, that sure this must be some sucking satir, who might have done better to have used his corall, and made an end of breeding ere he took upon him to wield a satir's whip. But, when I heard him talk of *scouring the rusted swords of elvish knights*, do not blame me if I changed my thought and concluded him some desperate cutler. But why *his scornful muse could never abide with tragick shoes her ankles for to hide*, the face of the verse told me that her maukin knuckles were never shapen to that royall buskin. And turning by chance to the sixth satire of his second book I was confirmed ; where having begun loftily *in heaven's universall* alphabet he falls down to that wretched poorness and frigidity as to talk of *Bridge Street in heavⁿ* and *the ostler of heavⁿ*, and there wanting other matters to catch him in a heat, (for certain he was in the frozen zone miserably benumbed), with thoughts lower than any beadle betakes him, to whip the signposts of Cambridge alehouses, the ordinary subject of freshmen's tales, and in a strain as pitiful. Which for him who would be accounted *the first English satyr*, to abase himself to, who might have learnt better among the Latin and Italian satyrists, and in our own tongue from the *Vision and Creed of Pierce Plowman*, besides others before him,

manifested a presumptuous undertaking, with weak and unexamined shoulders. For a satyr, as it was born out of a tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage, to strike high and adventure dangerously at the most eminent vices among the greatest persons, and not to creep into every blind taphouse that fears a constable more than a satyr. But that such a form should be toothless, I still affirme it to be a bull, taking away the essence of that which it calls itself. For if it bite neither the persons, nor the vices, how is it a satyr? and if it bite either, how is it toothless? So that toothless satyrs are as much as if he had said toothless teeth."

This passage affords a good illustration of genius spurred by malice. It would be presumptuous to question the critic's authority in the technical points referred to; but how unjust he is in his exposition of the facts would perhaps be apparent to anyone who would take the trouble to read the Satires attentively. The "Vision of Pierce Plowman" can scarcely be called a satire. The famous astrologers of the day, by a single prediction concerning Jupiter and Saturn, could throw the whole kingdom into a panic of consternation. To represent them as ostlers, tapsters, and chamberlains was surely to "strike high and adventure dangerously" at eminent folly, if not vice, among great persons, and might easily be paralleled in Juvenal. The epithets "toothless" and "biting" are relative terms, and best explained by Hall's words at the end of the third book:—

"Thus have I writ, in *smoother cedar tree*,
So gentle satires, penn'd so easily.
 Henceforth I write in crabbed oak-tree rind:
 Search they that mean the secret meaning find.



Hold out, ye guilty and ye galled hides,
And meet my far-fetch' stripes with waiting sides."

The gentle satires were, as he called them, *Virgidemiae*, bundles of rods, no less than the others. But in the one case the rod was a whip, in the other a scorpion.

One other quarrel connected with the Satires must be noticed before we proceed to give some account of their contents. This was with John Marston, who has been described as Hall's particular rival at Cambridge, but incorrectly, since he was not a Cambridge man, but educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and, about the time when Hall's first Satires were composed, lecturer to the Middle Temple. The origin of the bitter strife between the two young poets is not certainly known. The following has been suggested. In the year 1598 Marston published his "Pygmalion's Image," a somewhat sensuous paraphrase of one of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and in his satires which were appended he attacked Hall for his assaults on contemporary writers. Thereupon the latter laid hands on all copies of "Pygmalion's Image" reaching Cambridge, and caused an epigram to be pasted to the last page. This epigram ran thus:—

"I askt Phisitions what their counsell was,
For a mad dogge, or for a mankind asse?
They told me, though there were confections store
Of poppie-seede, and soueraine hellebore,
The dogge was best cured by cutting and *kinsing*,
The asse must be kindly whipped for winsing.
Now then, S. K., I little passe *
Whether thou be a mad dogge, or a mankind asse."

* *I.e.*, make little account.



Marston had assumed the name Kinsayder, hence the *S.K.* and *kinsing*. Then came the second half of *Virgidemiarum*, the *Biting Satires*, and the later of these has been supposed to be intended for Marston, who retorted with another epigram, as coarse and vulgar as Hall's, but rather more unsavoury. In 1601 the "*Whipping of the Satyre*" was published, inspired, it is said, by Hall; and in the same year an answer to it, "*The Whipper of the Satyre, his Pennance in a White Sheete: or the Beadle's Conutation.*"

It was not unnatural that Hall's free handling of his literary contemporaries should expose him to attack on the ground of self-conceit. There were, however, notwithstanding the splendour of the sunrise, many spots upon the face of literature at that time. Our poets were as often noted for their obscenity, debauchery, and blasphemy as for their undisputed genius. They were frequently tavern haunters, and in their efforts to attain popularity condescended to play the buffoon; they began to write for hire, and parted with purity to secure a rapid sale. Marlowe outdid all his companions, and ended his life in a drunken brawl at Deptford, June 1593. Shakspere published his *Venus and Adonis*, and a host of authors now forgotten were sending out indecent publications appealing to the pruriency of the public. This was fairly open to attack, and against it Hall directed his first shafts. The dramatists too were given to that passion-tearing which the chief among them has condemned. Another division of litterateurs had given themselves up, in defiance of the nature of our language, to a servile imitation of classical models, and were follow-



ing Stanihurst, the translator of Virgil, who had just introduced hexametrical poetry. Even Spenser and Sidney were among his imitators. It seems hardly credible that lines such as these should have been regarded as English :—

“ Rounce robble hobble,
Of ruff raff roaring with thwick thwack tharlery bouncing.”

Would the reader guess that this was meant for a description of a tempest ? Or again :—

“ Loud dub a dub tabering with frapping rip rap of Etna.”

Hall saw perfectly well that “ our speech was too craggy for the hexameter verse to set his plough in,” and that

“ The nimble dactyls, striving to outgo
The drawling sponders, pacing it below ;
The lingering spondees, labouring to delay
The breathless dactyls with a sudden stay,”

were like

“ a colt wanton and wild,
Yoked with a slow-foot on a fallow field.”

He had the merit of giving the *coup-de-grâce* to the hexameter school of his day. Then there was an army of sonneteers, amatory writers dedicated to the exaggerated expression of maudlin sentiment ; and, in striking contrast with these, the Puritan poets, with an extraordinary fondness for metrical versions of Holy Scripture. One of these effusions was “ The Poem of Poems, or Sion’s Muse, containing the Divine Song of King Solomon, divided into Eight Eclogues.” This transformation of Parnassus to Sion Hill drew from Hall a short satire, in which he says :—



“ Great Solomon sings in the English quire ;
And is become a newfound sonnetist,
Singing his love, the holy spouse of Christ ;
Like as she were some light-skirts of the rest,
In mightiest inkhornisms he can thither wrest.
Ye Sion Muses shall, by my dear will,
For this your zeal and far-admired skill,
Be straight transported from Jerusalem
Unto the holy house of Bethlehem (Bedlam).”

In two of his contemporaries my readers will take more than ordinary interest, Spenser and Shakspeare. *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* can be traced no higher in print than 1597, the year of the first Satires, but Shakspeare was at that time distinguished as “ the most excellent both for tragedy and comedy, and his fine-filed phrase.” Spenser, at the same date, his generous patron Sir Philip Sidney long since dead, his Irish property lost, was within the space of a year and a few months to lie down to die in obscurity and want at a tavern in Westminster. Neither one nor the other escaped without some slight censure from Hall. The “ hotch-potch ” of a buffoon brought upon the stage to relieve the tension of tragic acting moved his displeasure. Certain passages in Spenser did not please him. But to both he freely gives the palm in their respective departments, and of Spenser he speaks in terms of highest eulogy. “ The Marriage of Thames and Medway ” had just been published in Book IV. (Canto II.) of the “ Fairy Queen.” Hall complains that now not even a lowly muse could bide to sit and sing by Granta’s naked side. Only the willows were left to the Cam, and they told of desolation and desertion. Spenser before this, in “ Colin Clout’s come home again,” had sung the praises



of Raleigh. Hall "throws his yielding reed at Colin's feet." He has blamed some efforts of the Fairy Muse. Suddenly he checks himself and exclaims—

" But let no rebell satyre dare traduce
Th' eternal legends of thy Fairy Muse,
Renowned Spenser; whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate, much less dares despight.
Sallust of France, and Tuscan Ariost,
Yield up the laurel garland ye have lost :
And let all others willow wear with me,
Or let their undeserving temples bared be."

It is pleasing to find that he was able to see and willing to acknowledge the unrivalled splendour of the man who was cruelly neglected, if not persecuted, by the illustrious Burleigh.*

Whatever Hall's literary indiscretions may have been (and Hall would have deemed it no kindness for a biographer to conceal them), his keenness of observation and power of penetrating character are such as might have been looked for in the man of the world, rather than in the studious youth scarce out of his teens. The pictures of contemporary life are drawn with a masterly hand; and if the light is sometimes a little fierce, the *dramatis personæ* are

* There is a touching allusion to Spenser's (Colin's) sad end in a short poem by Hall addressed to Dr. Bedell, the original MS. of which was found among the papers of Dr. Dillingham, Master of Emmanuel College :—

" Thine be his verse, not his reward be thine !
Ah me ! that after unbeseeming care,
And secret want, which bred his last misfare,
His relics dear obscurely tombed lie,
Under unwritten stones ; that who goes by
Cannot once read, Lo, here doth Colin lie."

clearly seen. He brings before us the lawyer, lighting on wrong's offal and living best like the loathly fly, that lives on galled wound. In many lawyers he sees much store of malady to the commonwealth, and bids us notice the lawyer's eye squinting on his fist :—

“ If that seeme lined with a larger fee,
Doubt not the suite, the law is plaine for thee.”

Galen, on the contrary, whose help doth sweetest life and health uphold, was worthy to be weighed in gold, but was sadly underpaid. As for the clergy, simony was rife, and the traffic in livings disgracefully common. He pities the poor servile fool who put his *si quis* on Paul's Church door, advertising for clerical work, and advises him :—

“ For but a slender price
Advowson thee with some fat benefice :
Or, if thee list not wayt for dead men's shoon,
Nor pray ech morn th' incumbent's daies wer doon ;
A thousand patrons thither ready bring,
Their new-falne Churches to the chaffering.
Stake three yeares' stipend : no man asketh more :
Go take possession of the Church-porch doore,
And ring thy bells.”

He gives a humorous description of the poor trencher-chaplain, who for five marks and winter livery had to instruct the son of some gentle squire, lie upon his truckle bed, never presume to sit above the salt, never change his trencher twice, barely sit at meals but one half rise and wait, and never beat his young master, without asking his mother to define how many jerkes she would his breech should line. The astrology so generally believed in is pitilessly ridiculed. The ostentation of the Eliza-



bethan period, still so painfully apparent in the monuments of many a country church, is heartily condemned. He asks :—

“ Who ever gives a paire of velvet shoes
To th' Holy Rood, or liberally allowes
But a new rope to ring the Curfew bell,
But he desires that his great deed may dwell
Or graven in the chancel-window glasse,
Or in his lasting tombe of plated brasse ? ”

The “ fare and fashions ” of the citizens are passed under review, the “ curious cost and wondrous choice of cheare, beef and pork, hare and fish, goose-liver, goat and quails, the hen and Parthian deer, grapes and figs and chesnuts faire.” The periwig about this time became an article of dress, and afforded much merriment. Signet rings of Bristol diamond were worn, and that they might be better seen, a hole was cut in the glove. The linen collar was a labyrinth of a “ thousand double turnings.” The sleeves were half hid with elbow pinionings. The ladies wore

“ Curl'd periwigs, and chalked their face,
And still were poring on their pocket-glasse.
Tyr'd with pin'd ruffles, and fans, and partlet-strips,
And buskes and verdingales about their hips ;
And trode on corked stilts a prisoner's pace,
And made their napkin for their spitting place,
And griped their wast within a narrow span.”

The drunkard, so thirsty, even after death, that Charon was afraid of him lest he should drink Acheron dry ; the hungry gallant whose belly envied his back ; the carpet-knight and his sports ; the pedigree-maker, boasting how his first ancestor came in long since with the Conqueror, and deserving for his crest the Scottish Barnacle, that



of a worm doth wax a winged goose,—are all drawn from life. Nor does he spare the piracy which passed current under the name of bold seamanship, the gambling, the bribery, the usury, the sacrilege he saw about him. The commons were being enclosed, the condition of the small farmers was bad, landlords were non-resident, rapacious, and lacking in hospitality; rents were increasing, emigration was compulsory, and all this excited the young satirist's indignation.* But enough has been said. With one more extract, which describes a state of things as common now as it was then, let us end our survey of the Satires. The contrast is between the wealthy merchant and the comparatively poor country gentleman, who affects a state beyond his means.

“ Villius, the wealthy farmer, left his heire
Twice twenty sterling pounds to spend by yeare.
The neighbours praysen Villio's hide-bound sonne,
And say it was a goodly portion :
Not knowing how some marchants dowre can rise,
By Sundaie's tale to fifty centuries ;
Or to weigh down a leaden bride with golde,
Worth all that Matho bought, or Pontice sold.
But whiles ten pound goes to his wive's new gowne,
Nor little less can serve to suit his owne ;

* Hall's indignation against every kind of social oppression, and his young enthusiasm for the cause of the weak and the down-trodden, is by no means singular. Mr. Arnold Toynbee, whose memory must be dear to all Balliol men, was a notable instance of these virtues. Dying so early, his example is perhaps more valuable than had he been spared to teach the world with the more calculating wisdom of maturer years. In his schemes for reform he never lost sight of the indelible distinction between right and justice on the one hand, and wrong and robbery on the other. Our so-called “ Christian Socialists ” might well imitate both him and Hall.



Whiles one peece payes her idle waiting man,
Or buyes a hooode, or silver-handled fanne,
Or hires a Friezeland trotter, half yarde deepe,
To drag his tumbrell through the staring Cheape ;
Or whiles he rideth with two liveries,
And's trable rated at the subsidies ;
One end a kennel keeps of thriftlesse hounds ;
What thinke you rests of all my younker's pounds,
To diet him, or deale out at his doore,
To coffer up, or stock his wasting store ?
If then I reckon'd right, it should appear
That forty pounds serve not the farmer's heir."

Satire was not the only occupation of Hall's leisure hours at Cambridge. Whether he wrote pastorals is not certain. One passing hint seems to say that he did. He was the author of several odes. That upon Mr. Greenham's book has already been referred to. Others were that upon Cardinal Bellarmine and Dr. Whitaker, the elegies on Sir Edward and Lady Lewkenor, Sir Horatio Pallavicini, who died in 1600, and whose widow married Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Hinchinbrook, uncle to the Protector, and that composed on the death of Whitaker in 1595. This last is a poem of about one hundred lines, and no doubt expresses the feeling of the University at the loss of one who was called its pride and ornament. His funeral sermon was preached at St. Mary's, by Dr. Goad, where, says Fuller, so sad was the whole congregation that one might as soon have found a face without eyes, as eyes without tears.

Besides these metrical efforts of his earlier years, Hall wrote some philological notes, the manuscript of which he entrusted to his friend Knight, together with the manuscript of a work of a different kind, which calls for a more detailed notice. This

was the "*Mundus alter et idem*," the only instance in the first part of the seventeenth century, excepting Godwin's "*Man in the Moon*," written while the author was a student at Oxford, of the English novel or romance. It purports to be the description of a new continent discovered by the British Mercury in the southern hemisphere, and is a satire in Latin prose on the vices of the old world in which we live. The scope of the composition will be easily gathered from the names and subdivisions of the four quarters into which the new realm is divided. The first is *Crapulia*, with its two provinces of *Pamphagonia* and *Yvronica*, the land of gluttons and the land of drunkards. The second *Viraginia*, where women dwell in *Aphrodisia*, *Lasciva*, *Hermaphroditica*, *Amazonia*, and the land of Shrews. The third is an extensive tract, *Moronia*, the abode of fools in many kinds, unstable, bilious, fatuous, buffoon, boastful, superstitious. The fourth, after Horace's line,

"Da mihi fallere falsaque dicere, pulchra Laverna,"

is *Lavernia*, where impostors, cut-purses, plagiarists, lovers of filthy lucre, do homage to their goddess. By some the work has been supposed to have given the hint to Swift for his "*Gulliver's Travels*." Milton, as might have been almost anticipated, thought it "the idlest and the paltriest mime that ever mounted upon banke;" Hallam, "not a very successful effort." A foreign literary chronicler towards the close of the seventeenth century expresses his opinion that in it Hall had "founded a *Poneropolis* (a city of the wicked), which would no less divert the readers than inflame their minds with the love of virtue;" and it has been considered deserving of a translation and



of a partial imitation. But whatever its merits, the critic could not well have showed less regard for it than the author himself. Knight, who had charge of the manuscript, tells us that no entreaties could prevail upon Hall to allow it to be published. He excused himself upon the plea that it was but an exercise of his boyhood and an amusement of his leisure while at Cambridge. His friend, accordingly, undertook the publication upon his own responsibility, and it first appeared without place or date. It was reprinted at Hanau, in Germany, 1607, and often afterwards. Of Mr. Knight, who enjoyed this close intimacy with Hall, nothing is known beyond what can be gathered from a letter addressed to him, encouraging him to persist in the holy calling of the ministry, which, upon conceit of his insufficiency, and want of affection, he seemed inclining to forsake and change. Hall speaks of him as one whose gifts many had envied, a good linguist, possessed of a style worth emulation, and, which was worth all, a faithful and honest heart. The fact that he was at the pains to give the "*Mundus alter et idem*" to the public is a testimony to its value.* So far as I am aware, the philological notes were never printed.

* There was a William Knight, who took his B.A. at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1583, and was made rector of Gransden-Parva, Cambs., in 1598 (v. "*Ath. Cant.*," iii., 16). In 1610 he published a "*Concordance axiomatical, containing a survey of theological propositions with the reasons and uses in Holy Scripture.*" Hall, while at Emmanuel, might very well have become acquainted with him, and he is, perhaps, the friend in question.



CHAPTER. IV.

HALSTED.—VISIT TO THE CONTINENT, ETC.

THE twelve or thirteen years of Hall's stay at Cambridge were now at an end, and with them ended perhaps the happiest portion of his long life. Noted in the University as a great wit and a much-applauded professor, he was admitted to the best society, and made many friends. But the sweetest of companions to him were books ; his love of study was a passion, and intellectual exercise one of his keenest pleasures. "Study itself is our life," he says, "from which we would not be barred for a world ; how much sweeter, then, is the fruit of study, the conscience of knowledge ! In comparison thereof, the soul that hath once tasted it, easily contemns all human comforts."

It is no marvel, therefore, that he always looked back upon his college days with fond regret, and spoke of our universities with an enthusiastic admiration, which was something more than mere conformity to a fashion at a time when the royal pedant was giving parliamentary representation to Oxford and Cambridge, and the University of Edinburgh, founded in 1582, and Trinity College, Dublin, in 1591, were in their infancy. Our universities he considered the "most absolute and famous seminaries of the

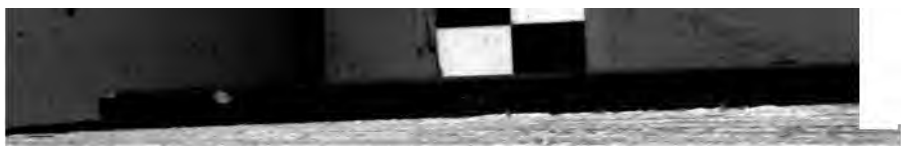


world, where the tutor's eye supplied the parent's." Still, he was not blind to defects. His own experience as a tutor had taught him that students went up too early, and, unless they fell under careful tuition, studied in jest and played in earnest. But a worse evil than this was the contempt for learning shown by the upper classes. The "trade of a scholar" was in his eyes worthy of those who were aiming at the highest perfection of man. There was an inherent nobility in learning, but the mis-educated gentry of his time thought it well enough for priests and pedants ; for gentlemen pleasure was the appropriate pursuit. In other nations the sons of nobles scorned not either merchandise or learned professions, and hated nothing so much as to do nothing ; our gallants despised all honest callings. The universities were not altogether to blame. Those who came too young went away too soon, and, being transplanted to the Inns of Law, forgot the little they had once known. The Inns of Law were, it will be remembered, now fast rising into importance, and though not chartered until after James came to the throne, were attracting many to them. It is interesting to note Hall's estimate of them. Each one there, he says, was his own master in respect of his private study and government. Paul's (the common resort of lounging idlers) was their Westminster, their study an ordinary, or playhouse, or dancing-school. Where many pots are boiling, there cannot but be much scum ; and these novices, turned loose into the main ere they knew either coast or compass, could not avoid those rocks and shelves upon which both their estates and souls were miserably wrecked. Commonly they learnt



to roar, instead of pleading ; and instead of knowing the laws, learnt how to condemn them.

"2 dec. 1601 Joseph. Hall A.M. ad pres. Rob. Drury. Mil." Thus runs the entry of Hall's admission to the benefice in the Hawstead register. Hawstead, or Halsted, is a village three miles south from Bury St. Edmund's, with a population at the present day of 320, and a tithe rent charge of £581. Sir Robert Drury, the then patron, was the son of Sir William Drury, who was killed in a duel in France, in 1589. Before he was out of mourning for his father, he had attended the Earl of Essex to the unsuccessful siege of Rouen in 1591, where he was knighted, when not above the age of fourteen. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon, who in 1611 was created first baronet of England, and was half-brother to Sir Francis Bacon, the famous Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans, now fast rising to eminence. A map given in Gage's "History of Suffolk" shows that the manor house and the church stood near each other. The Drurys, however, did not live there, but at Hawstead Place, which, since demolished, had been built on the site of Talmage's or Bokenham's manor, some distance to the west, by Sir William, who, through his marriage with a lady of the name of Stafford, had succeeded to the estate in 1557. It is described in 1616, the year after the death of Hall's patron, as a fair and strong-built house of brick and timber, covered with tiles, having convenient rooms, well-watered with a conduite, within a square moat ; the necessary outhouses, courts, yards, gardens, orchards, and walks, without the same moat, containing xj acres, "worth by the yere vj^{li} xv^s." Cullum, in his



"History of Hawstead," describes it as being "on an eminence, gently sloping towards the south. The whole formed a quadrangle, 202 feet by 211, within an area formerly called the Base Court, afterwards the Court Yard. The Mansion House, which was also a quadrangle, formed the fourth side, standing higher than the other buildings, and detached from them by a wide moat, faced on all its banks with bricks, and surrounded by a handsome terrace, a considerable part of which commanded a fine view over the surrounding country, and bespoke a taste superior to the artificial mound which in many old gardens had to be clambered up for the sake of prospect. The approach to the house was by a flight of steps, and a strong brick bridge of three arches, through a small jealous wicket, formed in the great well-timbered gate." Within the wicket was a statue to commemorate the visit of Queen Elizabeth in 1578, and a fountain played there, supplied with water from a pond a mile off. Tobacco had been introduced not long since, and the smoking-room on the left hand of the entrance was almost as indispensable as the licensed chapel which faced it on the other side. It is almost certain that Hall was never himself a smoker, and would be seldom in the genial company of the former. He complains that the gallants, among other things still less reputable, thought they did credit to their blood and merited others' good opinion, if they could "take smoke at a play-house;" and denounces the "incense of Indian smoke" offered to the palate, and those who, "whiffing themselves away in Necotian Incense" and "reeking of Indian smoke," spent as much in that "wantonness" as their honest forefathers spent

in substantial hospitality. Even of those mouths which were sacred to God, there were some which out of a wanton custom savoured of nothing but Indian soot, and took more pleasure to put forth a cloud of smoke than the thunderings and lightnings of the Law. This last he told Convocation in 1623.

The church of which he had charge, dedicated to All Saints, consisted at the close of last century of a handsome body without aisles, a chancel, and a fine tower. The north and south doors were Norman, the arch of the former having a single zig-zag moulding, and the latter a double one, both with a column on each side. The body of the church was chiefly rebuilt together with the porch in the latter part of the fifteenth century, either by the Cloptons or Sir William Drury. The tower was erected by Sir Robert, and was furnished with three bells. The chancel, originally in the early pointed style, was separated from the nave by a screen with rood-loft, on which, as late as 1784, hung the little sacring bell, six inches in diameter. An inventory, taken in 1637, presents us with another relic, which might well have been used by Hall,—“Onehoure glase, with an iron frame to it;” and amongst other things “two payer of orgaynes, standing in the chansell” (they must have been small, since the chancel was only $33\frac{1}{2}$ by 18 feet), and “one great cheaste with three locks and 3 keis, and one little bockes within it, which hath the town evidences, and two brasses for the Bible and one large peese of iron.”

Like some other men, Hall, who could not “crouch and writhe his fawning tayle to some great patron,” appears to have owed his first



advancement to female influence. It was Lady Drury who wrote begging him to accept Hawstead. Sir Robert, he found on his arrival there, was strongly prepossessed against him, although they had never met. This was owing to the suggestion of a Mr. Lilly, whom Hall calls "a witty and bold atheist," and who, by his writings, conversational power, and demeanour, had deeply insinuated himself into the good opinion of his and Hall's common patron. Why he should have been at the trouble to injure the new incumbent by his wicked detraction is not clear. Perhaps literary jealousy was at the bottom of it: maybe Lilly did not anticipate in the author of the Satires the same genial companion he possibly had in Hall's "not over-deserving predecessor." At all events, if Lilly were the man he is supposed to have been, there is enough in the Satires to account for his malice. He was an Oxford man, M.A. Magdalen College, and, while at the University, distinguished for his wit and vivacity. Later in life he wrote plays, nine in all, the best passages of which are said to have been paraphrased by Shakspeare. His chief prose works were "Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit," and "Euphues and his England," published respectively about 1580 and 1582. He was a favourite at the court of Elizabeth, where he introduced an artificial style, and an affectation which were burlesqued by both Shakspeare and Scott. He is said to have been a little man, and a great taker of tobacco. This dangerous opponent to the success of his ministry occasioned Hall no small anxiety, and had he not been early removed, could not have failed to be a perpetual torment.



How he was taken away is thus told :—" Hereupon, I confess, finding the obduredness and hopeless condition of that man, I bent my prayers against him ; beseeching God daily, that He would be pleased to remove, by some means or other, that apparent hinderance of my faithful labours : Who gave me an answer accordingly ; for this malicious man, going up hastily to London to exasperate my patron against me, was then and there swept away by the pestilence, and never returned to do any further mischief." This agrees with the fact that Lilly died in obscurity, and that the date of his death is unknown.

The coast was now clear before Hall, and, gaining every day in the good opinion of Drury and his neighbours, he was able to settle down to the duties of his new sphere. His first work was to build a parsonage house, the one he occupied being extremely ruinous. To the Roxburgh edition of the " Weeping Joy," presently to be noticed, is prefixed a drawing by Miss Collett (daughter of the late Rev. W. Collett, Rector of Hawstead) of the old rectory, made from a picture in the possession of the Collett family. With the exception of the wing on the right, which is of more recent erection than the rest, it represents the house as it was in Hall's incumbency. The new home had no pretension to either greatness or beauty, but was a low thatched dwelling, with somewhat heavy-mullioned windows. The dear old place has long since vanished, having been pulled down in 1852.

Thither after two years, in 1603, the rector brought his bride. His own account of the event reminds us of Hooker's similar experience, though,



fortunately, the venture was not attended with such unhappy results. "The uncouth solitariness of my life, and the extreme incommodity of that single housekeeping, drew my thoughts, after two years, to condescend to the necessity of a married estate, which God no less strangely provided for me. For, walking from the church on Monday in the Whitsun week, with a grave and reverend minister, Mr. Grandidge, I saw a comely and modest gentlewoman standing at the door of that house where we were invited to a wedding-dinner; and, inquiring of that worthy friend whether he knew her, 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I know her well, and have bespoken her for your wife.' When I further demanded an account of that answer, he told me she was the daughter of a gentleman whom he much respected, Mr. George Winniff, of Bretenham; that, out of an opinion had of the fitness of that match for me, he had already treated with her father about it, whom he found very apt to entertain it; advising me not to neglect the opportunity, and not concealing the just praises of the modesty, piety, good disposition, and other virtues that were lodged in that seemly presence. I listened to the motion as sent from God, and at last, upon due prosecution, happily prevailed; enjoying the comfortable society of that meet help for the space of forty-nine years."

Queen Elizabeth died March 24th, 1602-3, and shortly afterwards James was proclaimed king. The conclusion of the old, and the beginning of the new, was marked by many poetic effusions; and, among other contributors, the University of Cambridge addressed to the king a volume of congratulatory verses, entitled "Sorrowe's Joy." Hall was not



behind the rest, but in the same year published a poem called "The King's Prophecie or Weeping Joy, expressed in a poeme to the honor of England's too (two) great solemnities." A peculiar interest attaches to this work. Peter Hall, who edited the Bishop's works, was aware of its existence, and that, as he supposed, the only copy remaining was in the possession of a barrister in London, well known for his literary rarities, and to whom he had made several applications for a sight of the volume, but without success. The owner to whom he referred was the late Mr. Benjamin Heywood Bright, whose library was sold in 1845. The volume was then sold for six pounds to the late Rev. Thomas Corser, Rector of Stand, near Manchester, who in 1877 contributed a full account of it to the Chatham Society. In 1870 the book was again sold for six guineas to Mr. Boone, of the British Museum, being again described as unique and unknown to all the biographers of Bishop Hall. This, however, was not correct; a second copy, quite complete, was discovered in 1881, by Mr. J. E. Loveday in the library at Williamscombe House, near Banbury, in a volume containing five other rare poetical pieces, one of them a second copy of the third edition of Shakspeare's *Passionate Pilgrim*. This volume had formerly belonged to Mr. James Meyrick, of Trinity College, Oxford. We are indebted to the Rev. W. Edward Buckley, who, under the auspices of the Roxburgh Club, has given us an elegant edition, for the republication of the missing poem. It is written in six-line stanzas, of which there are over fifty, and contains references to pastoral poems of the author (whose identity is thus placed beyond doubt),



X

including a translation of Virgil's fourth Eclogue, which he had applied to the birth of Prince Henry, to the Satires, and to the circumstances of his life in Suffolk. King James, of course, is much belauded, and it is foretold concerning the king, that

"Religion's Spring, Autumne of Heresie,
Winter of Atheisme his reigne shall bee."

He is acquainted with the *Basilicon doron*, and is of opinion that "crowns from heaven are sent." Never since Jesse's youngest son rose from the fold hath He that gives crowns

"Ever yet besprent
With the sweet oyle of sacred unction
An holier head, than that this present day
The weight of England's roial crown doth sway."

The king is also complimented on his polished wit and poetical ability. "Renowned Drury," too, is "'mongst the rest, above the rest." Upon the whole, one gathers that although Hall cannot yet wag his tail, he is learning by experience that in a world of shams truth without embellishment is not welcome.

Within the two years following his marriage his eldest son Robert was born. The christening took place December 26th, 1605.

The next noteworthy incident in the life of Hall was a visit to the Continent. Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector Duke of Somerset, and husband of Lady Katharine Grey,* was

* Concerning this unfortunate lady, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, was, by the will of Henry and statute law, heiress-presumptive to the Crown, her marriages with the Earls of Pembroke and Hertford, the cruelty with which she

just about to cross over to Brussels on an embassy to confirm peace, resolved to make a splendid appearance, and prepared to spend £10,000 besides his allowance. Sir Edmund Bacon, brother of Hall's patroness, thought the opportunity a good one for visiting the famous Spa, which has given its name to so many watering-places, and for the last four hundred and fifty years has been frequented for the sake of its chalybeate springs, and in the season still attracts 20,000 visitors. He earnestly begged the rector of Hawstead, with whom he was upon terms of close intimacy, to accompany him. The journey undertaken now would, he said, be safe, easy, and pleasurable, while the small extravagance would be compensated by the benefit derived. This last consideration had weight with Hall, who, never strong, was growing weaker, and seems at this time to have anticipated the worst for himself. He had, moreover, a great desire to see for himself the state and practice of the Roman Church, and so the better equip himself for his vocation. He, therefore, consented to accompany Sir Edmund, and, after taking careful order for the supply of his charge, "with the assent and good allowance" of his nearest friends, he entered upon that "secret voyage."

Before we follow the fortunes of the travellers, let us glance for a moment at the course religious opinion had taken, that we may more perfectly understand the inner movement of Hall's life and the formation of his character. When he went up to Cambridge, Calvinism was just reaching its

and the latter were treated by the Queen, their unhappy loves in prison, and her early death, see Hallam, "Const. History," vol. i., 123, 128, 249, etc.



climax ; before he left the University the little rivulet, which, some few years before, began with Baro's ineffectual protest, had become a river strong enough to raise alarm in the strongholds of Genevan doctrine and discipline. Whitaker's crusade against "Pelagianism and Popery" had all along, little as his modesty, gentleness, and retiring spirit disposed him for such warfare, been stoutly opposed by Baro, who resisted the extravagances of his brother professor, and by his teaching had gradually been moulding a generation of students who preferred the Fathers, and sometimes the Schoolmen, to the manuals of Calvin. In 1595 the attempt was made to force the Lambeth Articles on the University and on the Church. Whitaker died December 4th, 1595, and within a few weeks of his death Baro ventured, when preaching at St. Mary's, to criticise the new formula. This he did with modesty and moderation, not so much objecting against it, as justifying his acceptance of it, and explaining the construction he put upon it. Nothing could save him. The Calvinistic blood was up, and the aged man, according to Fuller, the great scholar, inoffensive in life and conversation, who had painfully spent his strength in the employment of his professorship, was cited before the Vice-Chancellor, and before the end of the year resigned his office (*fugio, ne fugarer*, he said). Three years afterwards he died in London, a martyr to intolerance. The Anglican party did what they could, and showed their appreciation of his work by honouring him with an imposing funeral. The reader will think of another imposing funeral which not long since was seen in Christ Church quadrangle, and of the house in Oxford which

perpetuates the memory of one whose almost only reward, while living, was the love of souls which he guided. He will perhaps, too, be reminded of the magnificent monument erected to the honour of another true son of the Church, who will not be forgotten so long as Keble College and its chapel stand among the historic buildings of the University which he adorned. The moderate party, to which Baro belonged, was rapidly advancing. Another champion, less stable, who afterwards lost his balance and allied himself with the Jesuits, was found in Barret ; but the man who had the greatest influence upon the new school was Overall, the framer of the sacramental portion of our Catechism, and who was appointed Regius Professor and successor to Whitaker. How much Hall owed to him will probably never be known. We do know that, after the Synod of Dort, Hall was willing to adopt his views of the points in dispute as the readiest solution of the difficulty, and spoke admiringly of his splendid moderation. A mind so open to reason as was Hall's could not fail to be attracted by such a teacher. And probably before he left the university he had drawn back from many of the more revolting positions of Calvin.

|| But if he was advancing along the line of moderate churchmanship, there were intellectual forces at work enough to keep him from moving too fast and going too far. The Romanists were so active as to excite alarm and invite measures for their effectual suppression. So long ago as 1592 a commission was appointed to make search for adherents of the Roman faith, and the commissioners, in their report, spoke of the papists as doing much harm in



corrupting youth. The Heads, in their letter asking for archiepiscopal censure on Barret, urged that the study of many a divine in the University who professed the tenets of the Church of England would be found, on examination, to be mainly composed of the works of the Schoolmen, and of the tractates of the Jesuits, but of Protestant authors few or none. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign restrictive measures, of which every variety in turn was tried, were adopted with rigorous severity against recusants. A gentlewoman was hanged only for relieving and harbouring a priest ; a citizen was hanged for being reconciled to the Church of Rome ; the penal laws, Goodman in his "Memoir of the Court of James I." relates, were so executed that Romanists could not subsist, what was openly bought and sold in shops being taken away from them as popish and superstitious. The common people hated them. No sooner had James been proclaimed king, than he received a letter from Henry IV. of France, warning him against papists, for they were all of the Spanish faction. Thus it was that the king, who had made overtures to Pope Clement VIII. to support his claim to the English crown, and on his part had promised to favour the Romanists (with which he was openly taxed in a pamphlet called "Look to the Back Door"), was now become their bitter enemy, and even at table was wont to regale his servile hearers with pungent expressions of the hatred he bore them. Exasperated by all this, they were busy hatching those schemes which happily found abortive issue in the Gunpowder Plot.

It was a time of intense excitement, and Hall's anxiety to know the truth respecting Rome is not



hard to account for. In order to secure his end, he resolved to travel dressed as a layman, a circumstance which led him into some strange adventures, and afforded him a good deal of amusement.

After waiting some days at Harwich for a wind, the travellers attempted to cross to Dunkirk, where the British ambassador had lately landed ; but after being a day and half a night at sea, they were forced to put in at Queenborough, whence coasting over "the rich and pleasant county of Kent," they again took shipping at Dover, and soon landed at Calais. "There was nothing," Hall says, "that made not my journey pleasant, save the labour of the way, which yet was so sweetly deceived by the society of Sir Edmund Bacon, a gentleman truly honourable beyond all titles, that I found small cause to complain. The sea brooked not me, nor I it ; an unquiet element, made only for wonder and use, not for pleasure. Alighted once from that wooden conveyance and uneven way, I bethought myself how fondly our life is committed to an unsteady and reeling piece of wood, fickle winds, restless waters, while we may set foot on steadfast and constant earth." Long wagons, plying between Canterbury, Norwich, Gloucester, etc., and London, with passengers and commodities, had been introduced into England about 1580. By one of these more familiar "wooden conveyances" the friends went in two days to Gravelines and Dunkirk, where Hall found much horror in himself at passing under those dark and dreadful prisons where so many brave Englishmen had breathed out their souls in a miserable captivity. From thence they proceeded through Winnoxberg, Ypres, Ghent, Courtray to



Brussels, the ambassador having lately arrived there. In a letter to Sir Thomas Challoner he says, "Along our way how many churches saw we demolished ! Nothing left but rude heaps, to tell the passenger there had been both devotion and hostility. Oh, the miserable footsteps of war, besides bloodshed, ruin, and desolation ! Fury hath done that there, which Covetousness would do with us ; would do, but shall not ; the truth within shall save the walls without." But if churches had fallen, he marvelled to find Jesuits' colleges rising everywhere. There was no city where they were not either rearing or built.

"Those men, as we say of the fox, fare best, when they are most cursed ; none, so much spited of their own ; none, so hated of all ; none, so opposed by ours ; and yet these ill weeds grow. Whosoever lives long shall see them feared of their own, which now hate them ; shall see these seven lean kine devour all the fat beasts, that feed on the meadows of Tiber. I prophecy, as Pharaoh dreamed ; the event shall justify my confidence."

About this time much stir had been made respecting the miracles said to be wrought by an image of our Lady of Montaigle, which stood in the old church of Sichern, a small town in Brabant. Two years before Hall visited the Continent, the number of pilgrims to the shrine at the feast of her nativity was twenty thousand, and now pilgrims were everywhere met. At Brussels the authority of these miracles was warmly discussed by Hall ; but what there befell him cannot be better told than in his own words. "That noble gentleman, in whose company I travelled, was welcomed with many kind

invitations. Amongst the rest, there came to him an English gentleman, who, having run himself out of breath in the Inns of Court, had forsaken his country, and therewith his religion ; and was turned both bigot and physician, residing now in Brussels. This man, after few interchanges of compliment with Sir Edmund Bacon, fell into a hyperbolical predication of the wonderful miracles done newly by our Lady at Sichem, the credit whereof, when that worthy knight wittily questioned, he avowed a particular miracle of cure wrought by her upon himself. I, coming into the room in the midst of this discourse, habited not like a divine, but in such colour and fashion as might best secure my travel, and hearing my countryman's zealous and confident relations, at last asked him this question :—‘ Sir,’ quoth I, ‘ put case this report of yours be granted for true, I beseech you teach me what difference there is between these miracles which you say are wrought by this Lady, and those which were wrought by Vespasian, by some vestals by charms and spells ; the rather, for that I have noted, in the late published report of these miracles, some patients prescribed to come upon a Friday, and some to wash in such a well before their approach, and divers other such charm-like observations ? ’ The gentleman, not expecting such a question from me, answered, ‘ Sir, I do not profess this kind of scholarship ; but we have in the city many famous divines, with whom, if it would please you to confer, you might sooner receive satisfaction.’ I asked him whom he took for the most eminent divine of that place. He named to me Father Costerus, an old man, more testy than subtle, and more able to wrangle than satisfy, undertaking



that he would be very glad to give me conference, if I would be pleased to come up to the Jesuits' college. I willingly yielded. In the afternoon the forward gentleman prevented his time to attend me to the Father, as he stiled him ; who, as he said, was ready to entertain me with a meeting. I went alone up to him. The porter, shutting the door after me, welcomed me with a *Deo gratias*. I had not staid long in the Jesuits' Hall, before Costerus came in to me ; who, after a friendly salutation, fell into a formal speech of the unity of that Church, out of which is no salvation ; and had proceeded to lose his breath and labour, had not I, as civilly as I might, interrupted him with this short answer :—' Sir, I beseech you, mistake me not. My nation tells you of what religion I am. I come not hither out of any doubt of my professed belief, or any purpose to change it ; but moving a question to this gentleman concerning the pretended miracles of the time, he pleased to refer me to yourself for my answer ; which motion of his I was the more willing to embrace for the fame that I have heard of your learning and worth ; and if you can give me satisfaction herein, I am ready to receive it.' Hereupon we settled to our places, at a table in the end of the hall ; and buckled to a further discourse. He fell into a poor and imperfect account of the difference of Divine miracles and diabolical ; which I modestly refuted. From thence he slipped into a cholerick invective against our Church, which, as he said, could not yield one miracle ; and when I answered that in our Church we had manifest proofs of ejection of devils by fasting and prayer, he answered that, if it could be proved that ever any

devil was dispossessed in our Church, he would quit his religion. Many questions were incidentally traversed by us ; wherein I found no satisfaction given me. The conference was long and vehement ; in the heat whereof, who should come in but Father Baldwin, an English Jesuit, known to me, as by face, so much more by fame." (Hall first knew him at Brussels. He was a native of Cornwall, at first, professor of theology at Louvain, and vice-principal of the English Jesuit mission in the Netherlands. He afterwards became rector of the English seminary at St. Omer.) " He sat down upon a bench at the farther end of the table, and heard no small part of our dissertation ; seeming not too well afraid, that a gentleman of his nation (for being in that attire I was constantly spoken to by the stile of *dominatio vestra*) should depart from the Jesuits' college no better satisfied. On the next morning, therefore, he sends the same English physician to my lodging, with a courteous compellation ; professing to take it unkindly that his countryman should make choice of any other to confer with than himself, who desired both mine acquaintance and full satisfaction. Sir Edmund Bacon, in whose hearing the message was delivered, gave the secret signs of his utter unwillingness to give way to any further conferences, the issue whereof, since we were to pass further and beyond the bounds of that protection, might prove dangerous. I returned a mannerly answer of thanks to Father Baldwin ; but for any further conference, that it were bootless. I could not hope to convert him, and was resolved he should not alter me ; and, therefore, both of us should rest where we were."

Departing from Brussels the companions went



on their way to Namur, where on a pleasant and steep hill-top they found one that was termed a married hermit, and approved "his wisdom above his fellows, that could make choice of so cheerful and sociable a solitariness." Thence they had a delightful passage up the sweet river Meuse, and visited Liége. "The great city," Hall thought, might well be dichotomised into cloisters and hospitals. He felt inclined, after all the ruin that had come upon his neglected philology, to play the critic, and hazard a guess as to the derivation of the name of the people. They had been of old called Eburones. Without searching other records than his own eyes, he thought it should be written Ebriones, for their streets were moist, though not with wine, but blood. For three days after a murder the gates were open and justice shut. The murderer, though known, might be pursued by private justice; public justice could not touch him. Here was a fine opportunity for revenge, or for making with a slight pecuniary satisfaction an easy atonement for the blackest guilt. "O England, thought I, happy for justice, happy for security! There you shall find, in every corner, a maumet; at every door, a beggar; in every dish, a priest."

At length the Spa was reached with its famous waters, the value whereof yet the simple inhabitants ascribed to their saint, whose heavy foot had made an ill-shaped impression in a stone of his Sevenir, the upper well of the Spa. Hall's experience of the waters was that they were "more wholesome than pleasant, and yet more famous than wholesome."

The Forest of Ardennes, by which name the extensive hilly tract in the north-east of France and

the south-west of Belgium is familiar to my readers in the pages of Shakspeare, now no less celebrated for the disaster of Sedan than renowned through its manufactures as the Lancashire of the two countries, was, at the time of Hall's visit to the Spa, sufficiently wild to be spoken of as wide deserts and savage Ardenna. His mind was much exercised by the monsters called in English witch-wolves, there found in numbers. These were (the reader will please remember that the time is three hundred years ago) witches that had put on the shape of those cruel beasts. There was no doubt of their existence, for Hall himself saw a boy whose half face was devoured by one of them near the village, and not many days before his arrival one of those miscreants had confessed, on the wheel, to have devoured two-and-forty children in that form. Lycanthropy he thought was a problem for a large volume. His own solution was that therein the devil played the double sophister; yea, the sorcerer with sorcerers, he both deluded the witch's conceit and the beholder's eyes. Another thing he could not omit without sinful oversight. Under the tyranny of the Inquisition a "confident confessor led to the stake had sung psalms along the way. The officer, thereupon, had caused his tongue, drawn forth to the length, to be cut off near the roots. The poor martyr died in silence; but, not many months after, the butcherly officer had a son born with his tongue hanging down upon his chin, like a deer after a long chase, which never could be gathered up within the bounds of his lips. Oh the Divine hand, full of justice, full of revenge." Whatever may be thought of lycanthropy, the malformation just



described, upon physiological principles, might be something more than a coincidence.

Any credulity Hall may have exhibited—though, bearing in mind that physical science was then only in the womb, it is hardly fair to tax him with it—was more than compensated by his thorough-going scepticism in the matter of ecclesiastical miracles. At one time he intended to write a book upon the subject, but contented himself with a tract, which, though it would not perhaps be recommended by a board of the faculty of theology, nevertheless contains some useful hints. He had noted four ranks of commonly-named miracles,—"the first, merely reported, not seen to be done; the next, seeming to be done, but counterfeited; the third, truly done, but not true miracles; the last, truly miraculous, but by Satan." As he says, subtracting these, few remain for either belief or wonder.

A just time was spent at the medicinal wells, and then the return journey was commenced. In sailing down the river Meuse, Hall had another conflict, and a dangerous one, with a Sorbonnist, a Carmelite Prior, who interpreted the travellers' kneeling at the Eucharist as an acknowledgment of transubstantiation. Upon his explaining the matter, and temperately resisting the railing accusation his opponents brought against our Church and religion, their changing countenances pale with rage indicated so much peril that Sir Edmund Bacon, both by eye and tongue, withdrew his friend from the fray, and he, to avoid further provocation, at once left their presence. The prior was growing suspicious, and said that he himself had a green



satin suit once prepared for his travels into England. Hall, therefore, found it needful to lie close at Namur. "The next day," says he, "traveling towards Brussels in the company of two Italian captains, Signor Ascanio Negro, and another whose name I have forgotten, who, inquiring into our nation and religion, wondered to hear that we had any baptism or churches in England, the congruity of my Latin in respect of their perfect barbarism, drew me and the rest into their suspicion, so as I might overhear them muttering to each other that we were not the men we appeared. Straight the one boldly expressed his conceit ; and, together with this charge, began to inquire of our condition. I told him that the gentleman he saw before him was the grandchild of that renowned Bacon, the great Chancellor of England, a man of great birth and quality ; and that myself and my other companion travelled in his attendance to the Spa, from the train and under the privilege of our late ambassador ; with which just answer I stopped their mouths." At Brussels some Englishwomen were being professed vestals. At Antwerp the travellers saw "a solemn mass in a shambles." While the mass was being celebrated, the church was "full of meat, of butchers, of buyers, some kneeling, most bargaining, most talking, all busy." This is described in a satirical vein which leaves room for some regret. Another curious sight was "an Englishman, so madly devout, that he had wilfully mured up himself as an anchorite, the worst of all prisoners ; there sat he, pent up, for his further merit, half hunger-starved, for the charity of the citizens." Hall's curiosity to see a solemn pro-



cession in the streets on St. John Baptist's Day might have drawn him into danger, because he kept his hat on, had not the hulk of a tall Brabanter, behind whom he stood in a corner, shadowed him from notice. From Antwerp, which he thought the paragon of cities, the route lay down the Scheldt to Flushing. Here the company resolved to stay some hours, and Hall hastened to Middleburgh to see an ancient colleague. On his return he found his ship well out for sea, under sail for England, the master having taken advantage of a wind which had sprung up. His friends were all aboard ; so, after looking long after them in vain, he sadly retraced his steps to Middleburgh, and, at last, after waiting some time, by an "inconvenient and tempestuous passage reached home."



CHAPTER V.

WORK AT HAWSTEAD.—CHAPLAIN TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.—THE OFFER OF WALTHAM.

IN the old parsonage house at Hawstead there was long preserved a plate of lead with the motto *Imum nolo, summum nequeo, quiesco*, adopted, it has been supposed, by Hall when he first settled there. A modest ambition and a mind to some extent familiar with content are indicated ; but were it not for other sources of information, even assuming the motto to be the mirror of the man, we should not be able to go far in gauging his character at this time. Such sources of information fortunately we possess. Amongst his earliest devotional writings are two "Centuries of Meditations and Vows, Divine and Moral," dedicated to the patron of Hawstead and his wife. In the dedicatory preface of the first Century, the author says :—" That I have made there my homely aphorisms public, needs no other reason but that, though the world is furnished with other writings, even to satiety and surfeit, yet of those which reduce Christianity to practice, there is, at least, scarce enough ; wherein, yet, *I must needs confess, I had some eye to myself, for having after a sort vowed this austere course of judgment and practice to myself, I thought it best to acquaint the world with it, that it may either witness my answer-*



able proceeding, or check me in my straying therefrom. By which means so many men as I live amongst, so many monitors I shall have ; which shall point me to my own rules, and upbraid me with my observations."

Such a clue to character must no doubt be regarded with some distrust, and the conclusions arrived at received with some reserve. Still, after making all deductions, it will, I think, be apparent to the student of the "Meditations and Vows," that there is in them a personal element perfectly trustworthy and reliable, which, together with what is known of Hall besides, enables us to picture him in outline with tolerable accuracy. That he was a busy man is almost superfluous to say ; the idle man he considered the devil's cushion on which he taketh his free ease. Besides three sermons a week, every one of which he penned as he hoped to deliver it, not the fifteen or twenty minutes' effort which some regard as the ideal at the present day, but studied compositions full of thought, illustrated in many ways,—besides these, he was constantly engaged in study so severe as to excite the alarm of his friends, and was writing book after book which he sold that he might buy others. The labour, perhaps, was lighter to him than to many men because of the delight he took in imparting his knowledge to others. Nor was it likely to make of him a mere book-worm. He was fully sensible of the dangers of a too strict seclusion in narrowing the view and warping the sympathies. A chief reason why he took a wife was the "uncouth solitariness" of the parsonage, and it is quite consistent that he should esteem Christian good fellowship better than an eremitish and melancholy solitariness. In dealing

with his fellow-men he was cautious and discreet, particularly in administering reproof, having learned by experience that some men are thorns, and do not allow of rough handling ; some nettles, which reward a gentle touch with a sting and a prick. He was courteous to all ; but in his private estimate of men drew a sharp line between what a man could call his own, and "patrimony and vulgar account of honour which follows the blood in many generations. Virtue is not traduced in propagation, nor learning bequeathed by our will to our heirs." For companions he cared little, unless they could teach him something, or would learn something from him. Of friends he had not many, but those so tried that he dared trust them. A friend who was sometimes a rod he valued, but, like Moses, would run from him who once proved to be a serpent. Friendship he had found brittle stuff, and experience told him that the friend who now loves, may hereafter come to hate. He did not, therefore, wear his heart upon his sleeve ; he disclosed himself no whit to his enemy, somewhat to his friend, wholly to no man, lest he should be more others' than his own. The infidelity of friends was all the more painful to him from his evident sincerity. Most men hold that speaking well without feeling is permissible, if only to train our own affections, or to set an ideal before others. To Hall there seemed to lie hid in this an habitual hypocrisy, which would one day manifest itself. His own endeavour was to speak as he thought. Not unnaturally, this being so, conversation was a difficulty to him. It was hard to speak well, though harder to be silent, without incurring the charge of affectation, or sullenness, or ignorance.



In his younger days one might almost suppose that he had been contentious. "I have ever found that to strive with my superior is furious; with my equal, doubtful; with my inferior, sordid and base; with any, full of unquietness." Perhaps, this is a reminiscence of his literary battles at Cambridge. Even now it is not hard to detect a passionate tendency, well controlled however, and firmly kept in check. There is the characteristic eagerness in disputation, of which we had some amusing instances in his adventures in Belgium, though we may fully credit him with the earnest effort so to order his courage and mildness that he might be neither "lion-like in his conversation, nor sheepish in the defence of a good cause." His splendid generosity was conspicuous when he begged that his tutor, Mr. Gilby, might be reinstated in the fellowship at Emmanuel, to which he was himself immediately afterwards elected. His modesty everywhere makes itself felt, and was something more than a decorous disguise of selfishness. He tells us that "it is commonly seen that boldness puts men forth before their time, before their ability. Wherein we have seen many that, like lapwings and partridges, have run away with some part of their shell on their heads; whence it follows that, as they began boldly, so they proceed unprofitably, and conclude not without shame. I would rather be haled by force of others to great duties, than rush upon them unbidden. It were better that a man should want work, than that great works should want a man answerable to their weight." Words worthy of the man whose modesty afterwards led him to decline the bishopric of Gloucester! Yet disliking, as he did,

popularity and ostentation, he was very sensitive to the opinion of those whose opinion he deemed worth having ; and his admirers will not think any the worse of him because he sometimes winced under the contempt for his office displayed by the worldly, or complained of the neglect with which he was treated by those who valued birth and wealth more than the treasures of piety and learning. Over all and above all was his devoutness of spirit, and his love of communing with the Invisible, which seemed to grow more and more intense with advancing years. When at Spa with Sir Edmund Bacon, he was wont to leave the romantic valley and go up "under the solitary hills of Ardenna," there to meditate. This was the occupation then of his leisure hours, as it soon became part of his daily work, and the fruit of those quiet moments we have in the third Century of "Meditations and Vows," dedicated to the companion of his travels.

About the same time Hall appears to have published a treatise called "Heaven upon Earth." The volume was little, he said ; perhaps the use more. He had always thought, according to the Greek proverb, a *great book*, a *great evil*. With a view to it he had studiously read over some of the moral writings of some wise heathen, especially those of the stoical profession, and, among them, Seneca, of whom he speaks in terms of admiration. "If Seneca could have had grace to his wit, what wonders would he have done in this kind ! What divine might not have yielded him the chair for 'Precepts of Tranquillity,' without any disparagement ? As he was, this he hath gained : never any heathen wrote more divinely : never any philosopher more pro-

bably." The little book, as exhaustively as the space permits, treats of the causes of restlessness, and points out how peace of mind is to be obtained.

Encouraged by the success of the "Meditations and Vows," Hall determined to publish the "Art of Divine Meditation." They were written without rule; this was intended to teach the systematic contemplation of heavenly things. In composing it he confesses "to have received more light from one obscure nameless monk, who wrote some hundred and twelve years ago, than from the directions of all other writers." The method is illustrated by two meditations, one on Eternal Life, the other on Death. To follow him in the minute details would be tedious, and, maybe, unprofitable, now that so many masters in the art have given their rules to the world; the value he attached to the practice is suggestive to those who aim at self-improvement, and the glimpses gained of his habits full of interest to the biographer. The benefit of meditation he deemed unspeakable; it was "the remedy of security and worldliness, the pastime of saints, the ladder of heaven, and, in short, the best improvement of Christianity." In distinguishing the two kinds, Extemporal and Deliberate, he says that God's great book of nature has many capital letters, and he who cannot spell some words must be an idle truant. Amongst the hints he gives are that the clergy should omit no day without meditation, those in secular callings not many. A subject once begun should be steadily pursued, the same thought being dwelt upon until some issue in spiritual profit is attained. The length of the meditation should not be judged by the hour-glass, but by the increase

of devotion. Gerson had sometimes spent four hours together before he could become master of his thoughts, and reach a goal. As to place, it should be solitary, the world without and the world within both banished. Jesus was alone in the mount, John Baptist in the desert, David on his bed, Chrysostom in the bath. It is best to have the *same* place, our thoughts through custom being more easily gathered where we have frequently conversed with God. Like Isaac, he had always found the best time to be evening. As to gesture, too, he imitated Isaac, who meditated walking. He distinctly approves of a ritual of the body ; in thinking of sin, Ahab's soft face, the publican's downcast eyes and hand beating on his breast ; if joys of heaven attract the thoughts, the upturned gaze of Stephen, and David's hands lift up on high. The neglect of meditation he considered notoriously shameful, and prejudicial to the souls of professors. "Unto this only neglect let me ascribe the commonness of that Laodicean temper of men ; or, if that be worse, of the dead coldness which hath stricken the hearts of many, having left them nothing but the bodies of men, and visors of Christians: to this only, THEY HAVE NOT MEDITATED. It is not more impossible to live without a heart, than to be devout without meditation. Would God, therefore, my words could be in this, as the wise man saith the words of the wise are, like unto goads in the sides of every reader, to quicken him up out of this dull and lazy security, to a cheerful practice of this Divine meditation. Let him curse me upon his deathbed, if, looking back from thence to the bestowing of his former times, he acknowledges not these hours placed the most



*Claim to be first
discovers in 1608*

happily in his whole life ; if he then wish not he had worn out more days in so profitable and heavenly a work."

He was also busy writing the earliest of six decades of "Epistles," which he afterwards collected and published in three books, each containing two decades. The first volume appeared in 1608, the second in the same year, the third in 1611, all being dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales. Hall is said to be the first who published compositions of this kind in his native tongue. He thus expresses his claim to the invention in his dedication to the prince :—"Further, which these times account not the least praise, your Grace shall herein perceive a new fashion of discourse by Epistles ; new to our language, usual to all others, and, as novelty is never without some plea of use, more free, more familiar, Thus we do but talk with our friends by our pen, and express ourselves no whit less easily, somewhat more digestedly." The "Epistles" embrace a great variety of topics—the contempt of the world, true honour, the welfare of the prince, observations on his travel, miracles, the fear of death, duelling, the increase of popery, etc., and are addressed to his patrons, relatives, and some of the well-known men of the day. One to Mr. W. L. (supposed with good reason to be Laud), "expostulating the cause of his unsettledness in religion, which is pleaded to be our dissensions ;" and another to Mr. Thomas Sutton, the founder of the Charterhouse, will have peculiar interest for the historian and the antiquary. We have already had occasion to make use of some of them, and shall, as the narrative proceeds, refer to others

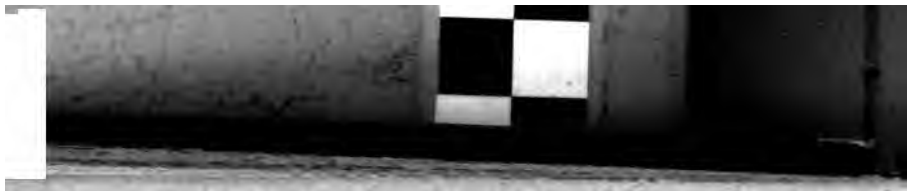
Hall's name does not appear among those of the divines entrusted with the translation of the Bible. While the Committee, however, were engaged in their work, and long before they had given to it its final form, he was contemplating a revision of the metrical version of the Psalms. As a satirist at Cambridge he had ridiculed the propensity of the Puritans for versifying Scripture ; but he had not then foreseen the noble work which was to be initiated by James at the suggestion of Puritan objectors, nor had he, as a parish priest, felt the necessity of suitable hymns and music for congregational worship. The Church was certainly badly off in that respect. At the Reformation the old hymns of the Roman Church had, with almost inexcusable negligence, been turned to little or no account. Luther, indeed, had utilised some of them, and had even put into verse the Augsburg Confession. The Waldenses, the Lollards, and Bohemian brethren, too, had been fond of singing, and had translated and imitated in German metre many of the metrical compositions of the old faith. But the English and Swiss reformers had used instead a metrical version of the Psalms. Marot, about 1540, in France led the way with fifty psalms, and the whole psalter so treated having been completed by Beza, was adopted by Calvin. Sir Thomas Wyatt was the first in England to follow in Marot's steps. His work has perished, but his labour was continued by Sternhold and Hopkins, through whose exertions chiefly the "Old Version," with about forty tunes, was published in 1562. The psalms contained in this were allowed to be sung before or after morning and evening prayer, before or after sermons,

and in private houses. This is the version of which Hall contemplated a revision, and though he does not appear to have translated more than ten psalms himself, his idea was subsequently realised, several editions being set forth, until the New Version by Tate and Brady was at length licensed by King William in 1696. How difficult Hall felt the task to be, and how important to the welfare of the Church, is clear from the letters to the friends he consulted, and the earnestness with which he begs for unsparing criticism of the portion he submitted to their judgment. He first disclosed his plan to his old school-fellow and college-friend, Hugh Cholmley, and after some time laid his work before his cousin Burton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, through whose influence he hoped to get the sanction of authority. To Hugh Cholmley, he wrote as follows:—

“Fear not my immoderate studies. I have a body that controls me enough in these courses; my friends need not. There is nothing whereof I could sooner surfeit, if I durst neglect my body to satisfy my mind: but, while I affect knowledge, my weakness checks me and says, ‘Better a little learning than no health.’ I yield, and patiently abide myself debarred of my chosen felicity.

“The little I can get, I am no niggard of; neither am I more desirous to gather, than willing to impart. The full-handed are commonly most sparing. We vessels, that have any empty room, answer the least knock with a hollow noise. You that are full sound not. If we pardon your closeness, you may well bear with our profusion. If there be any wrong, it is to ourselves, that we utter what we should lay up. It is a pardonable fault, to do less good to ourselves, that we may do more to others.

“Amongst other endeavours, I have boldly undertaken



the holy metres of David ; how happily, judge you by what you see. There is none of all my labours so open to all censures ; none, whereof I would so willingly bear the verdict of the wise and judicious.

“ Perhaps some think the verse harsh ; whose nice ear regards roundness more than sense. I embrace smoothness ; but affect it not. This is the least good quality of a verse that intends anything but musical delight.

“ Others may blame the difficulty of the tunes, whose humour cannot be pleased without a greater offence ; for, to say truth, I never could see good verse written in the wonted measures. I ever thought them most easy, and least poetical.

“ This fault, if any, will light upon the negligence of our people, which endure not to take pains for any fit variety. The French and Dutch have given us worthy examples of diligence and exquisiteness in this kind. Neither our ears nor voices are less tunable. Here is nothing wanting, but will to learning. What is this, but to eat the corn out of the ear, because we will not abide the labour to grind and knead it ?

“ If the question be, whether our verse must descend to them, or they ascend to it, a wise moderation, I think, would determine it most equal, that each part should remit somewhat, and both meet in the midst. Thus I have endeavoured to do, with sincere intent of their good, rather than my own applause. For it had been easy to have reached a higher strain, but I durst not ; whether for the grave majesty of the subject, or benefit of the simplest reader.

“ You shall note that I have laboured to keep David’s entire sense, with numbers neither lofty nor slubbered : which mean is so much more difficult to find, as the business is more sacred, and the liberty less.

“ Many great wits have undertaken this task, which yet have either not effected it, or have smothered it in their private desks, and denied it the common light. Amongst



the rest were those two rare spirits of the Sidneys, to whom poesy was as natural, as it is affected of others; and our worthy friend, Mr. Sylvester, hath showed me how happily he hath sometimes turned from his *Bartas*, to the sweet singer of Israel. It could not be that in such abundant plenty of poesy this work should have past unattempted. Would God I might live to see it perfected, either by my own hand, or a better!

"In the meantime, let me expect your impartial sentence, both concerning the form and sense. Lay aside your love for a while, which too oft blinds judgment. And, as it uses to be done in most equal proceedings of justice, shut me out of doors, while my verse is discussed; yea, let me receive not your censure only, but others' by you. This once, as you love me, play both the informer and the judge. Whether you allow it, you shall encourage me; or correct, you shall amend me; either your stars or your spits, that I may use Origen's notes, shall be welcome to my Margent. It shall be happy for us, if God shall make our poor labours any way serviceable to His Name and Church."

His letter to Burton, who in 1607 was made Archdeacon of Gloucester, gives a further insight into his feelings:—

"Indeed," he says, "my poetry was long since out of date, and yielded her place to graver studies; but whose vein would it not revive, to look into those heavenly songs? I were not worthy to be a divine, if it should repent me to be a poet with David, after I shall have aged in the pulpit. This work is holy and strict, and abides not any youthful or heathenish liberty; but requires hands free from profaneness, looseness, affection. It is a service to God and the Church, by so much more carefully to be regarded, as it is more common. For, who is there that will not challenge a part in this labour, and that shall not find

himself much more affected with holy measure rightly composed?

"Wherefore I have oft wondered how it could be offensive to our adversaries, that these Divine ditties, which the Spirit of God wrote in verse, should be sung in verse; and that a Hebrew poem should be made English. For, if this kind of composition had been unfit, God would never have made choice of numbers wherein to express Himself.

"Yea, who knows not that some other Scriptures, which the Spirit hath indited in prose, have yet been happily and with good allowance put into strict numbers? If histories tell us of a wanton poet of old which lost his eyes while he went about to turn Moses into verse, yet every student knows, with what good success and commendation Nonnus hath turned John's Gospel into Greek heroics. And Apollinarius, that learned Syrian, matched with Basil and Gregory (who lived in his time) in the terms of this equality, that Basil's speech was calm and deliberate, but Apollinarius's rich and copious, wrote, as Suidas reports, all the Hebrew Scriptures in heroics; as Sozomen, somewhat more restrainedly, all the archæology of the Jews, till Saul's government, in twenty-four parts; or, as Socrates, yet more particularly, all Moses in heroics, and all the other histories in divers metres: but, however his other labours lie hid, his 'Metaphrase of the Psalms' is still in our hands, with the applause of all the learned, besides the labours of their own Flaminus and Arias Montanus, to seek for no more, which have worthily bestowed themselves in this subject.

"Neither do' I see how it can be offensive to our friends, that we should desire our English metaphrase bettered. I say nothing to the disgrace of that we have; I know how glad our adversaries are of all such advantages, which they are ready enough to find out without me, ever reproachfully upbraiding us with these defects. But, since our whole translation is now universally revised, what inconvenience or show of innovation can it bear, that the verse should



accompany the prose? Especially since it is well known how rude and homely our English poesy was in those times, compared with the present; wherein, if ever, it seeth her full perfection.

"I have been solicited by some reverend friends to undertake this task, as that which seemed well to accord with the former exercises of my youth and my present profession. The difficulties I found many; the work long and great; yet not more painful than beneficial to God's Church, whereto as I dare not profess any sufficiency, so I will not deny my readiness and utmost endeavour, if I shall be employed by authority.

"Wherefore, in this part, I do humbly submit myself to the grave censures of them, whose wisdom manageth these common affairs of the Church, and am ready either to stand still or proceed, as I shall see their Cloud or Fire go before or behind me. Only, howsoever, I shall, for my true affection to the Church, wish it done by better workmen; wherein, as you approve, so further my bold, but not unprofitable motion, and commend it unto greater ears, as I do you to the Greatest.

"Your loving kinsman,
"JOSEPH HALL."

His plan, for what reasons is not known, was never carried into execution; and, if the ten psalms "metaphrased for a taste of the rest" may be taken as fairly indicating what the others would be, we shall be glad that it was so. In 1626 a writer ventured on the following epigram, but most readers who look into the ten complete psalms will perhaps think the praise above the performance.

"You in high straines have sung God's Heavenly Graces,
Which you shall sound in high and heavenly places;
Sweet Hall! what Hallelujahs shall you sing
In Heaven's high quire to the Eternall King!"

Much later in life Hall composed some anthems for the use of the cathedral at Exeter. As a specimen I select the shortest, for Christmas Day, which will possibly be thought not devoid of merit.

“ Immortal Babe, Who this dear day
Didst change Thy Heaven for our clay,
And didst with flesh Thy Godhead vail,
Eternal Son of God, all hail !

Shine, happy star ! ye Angels, sing
Glory on high to Heaven's King :
Run, shepherds, leave your nightly watch,
See Heaven come down to Bethlehem's cratch.

Worship, ye sages of the east,
The King of Gods in meanness drest ;
O Blessed Maid, smile and adore
The God, thy womb and arms have bore.

Star, angels, shepherds, and wise sages,
Thou Virgin, glory of all ages,
Restored frame of heaven and earth,
Joy in your dear Redeemer's birth ! ”

Thus in ceaseless study and almost continuous toil the time was passed at Hawstead. At length, partly through the mean injustice of his patron, partly through the fame which his own indefatigable pen had brought him, Hall emerged from the comparative obscurity of the country vicarage into the light of court favour, and entered on that course which eventually brought him to the episcopal bench. It happened on this wise, in 1608, some year and a half after his visit to the Spa.

“ My means were but short at Halsted ; yet such as I oft professed, if my then patron would have added but one ten pounds by year, which I held to be the value of my detained due, I should never have removed. One morning,



as I lay in my bed, a strong motion was suddenly glanced into my thoughts of going to London. I arose, and betook me to the way. The ground that appeared of that purpose was to speak with my patron, Sir Robert Drury ; if by occasion of the public preachership of St. Edmund's Bury, then offered me upon good conditions, I might draw him to a willing yieldance of that parcel of my due maintenance, which was kept back from my not over-deserving predecessor : who, hearing my errand, dissuaded me from so ungainful an exchange, which had it been to my sensible advantage, he should have readily given way unto ; but not offering me the expected encouragement of my continuance.

" With him I stayed and preached on the Sunday following. That day Sir Robert Drury, meeting with the Lord Denny, fell belike into the commendation of my sermon. That religious and noble lord had long harboured good thoughts concerning me upon the reading of those poor pamphlets which I had formerly published, and long wished the opportunity to know me. To please him in this desire, Sir Robert willed me to go and tender my service to his Lordship ; which I modestly and seriously deprecated ; yet, upon his earnest charge, went to his Lordship's gate, where I was not sorry to hear of his absence.

" Being now full of cold and distemper in Drury Lane,* I was found out by a friend, in whom I had formerly no great interest, one Mr. Gurrey, tutor to the Earl of Essex (afterwards the famous Parliamentary General). He told me how well my "*Meditations*" were accepted at the Prince's Court ; and earnestly advised me to step over to Richmond, and preach to his Highness. I strongly pleaded my indisposition of body, and my inpreparation for any such work, together with my bashful fears, and utter unfitness for such a presence. My averseness doubled his importunity ; in fine, he left me not till he had my engagement to preach

* Where the Drurys had a mansion.

the Sunday following at Richmond. He made way for me to that awful pulpit, and encouraged me by the favour of his Noble Lord, the Earl of Essex. I preached. Through the favour of my God, that sermon was not so well given as taken, insomuch as that Sweet Prince signified his desire to hear me again the Tuesday following. Which done, that labour gave more contentment than the former: so as that Gracious Prince both gave me his hand, and commanded me to his service."

Thus Hall arrived at the dignity of domestic chaplain to the heir to the crown. The prince appears to have been, even for a prince, preternaturally precocious. He was only six when his father composed for his use the *basilicon doron*. When seven, he sent a letter in French to the States General of Holland, explaining his great regard for them and gratitude for the good opinion they entertained of him, and desiring them to make use of his interest with the king. In 1605, at the age of eleven, he went with his royal parents from Woodstock to Oxford. The visitors were received with great solemnity by the University. Christ Church, under Dr. John King, who became Bishop of London in 1611, hospitably lodged the king and queen, and provided an evening's amusement in the shape of a dramatic representation, a play, called *Vertumnus*, having been written specially for the occasion. But Christ Church had not then any monopoly in royal pupils, and the honour of matriculating the prince fell to Magdalen, the president's apartments during his four days' residence being given up to him. New College, too, gave a dinner, and St. John's was ready with another comedy, also strangely called *Vertumnus*, but (the prince's biographer says) quite

different in scope and execution from its Christ Church rival. Of intellectual pleasures there must have been more than enough. Numerous disputations were held, and the prince was well pleased with the ready wit of the disputants. One question disputed was whether the saints and angels know the thoughts of the heart ; a second was not so hard—whether pastors are not obliged to visit the sick during the plague ; a third might still be submitted to Dr. Burdon Sanderson—whether children imbibe the temper with the milk of their nurses ; a fourth indicates a respectful deference to the views of the author of the *Counterblast*—the use of tobacco. In the year Hall was appointed chaplain, an account of the four days' residence was published under the title "*Rex Platonicus, sive Musæ Regnantes,*" with a dedication to the prince. The author remarks that the University had seen so much in that time of his Highness's temper and genius as answered their most sanguine wishes. With all allowance for academic unction, the subject of these flattering attentions is generally admitted to have deserved many of the good things said of him. He was an attentive hearer of sermons, and distinguished such as excelled, a strict attender on public worship, a watchful guardian of his somewhat large "family," which, before he was eighteen, numbered about five hundred, and, unlike his august father, was never heard to indulge in an oath. To check the very common habit of swearing he ordered boxes to be kept at his three houses, St. James's, Richmond, and Nonsuch, for the reception of fines, to be distributed to the poor. Theologically he inclined to the Puritans, and is said to have expressed

his intention, in case he came to the throne, of doing all in his power to effect a reconciliation with them. Neal calls him the "darling of the Puritans." Bishop Goodman thought him a little self-willed. His mother loved him less than Charles. His father conceived a strong antipathy to him on the ground of his obtrusiveness, whether justly or not is hard to say. He often provoked his brother Charles to tears, and sometimes taunted him with the weakness of his legs. If it be true that, at the age of seventeen, he requested that he might preside at the Privy Council, he certainly was not lacking in self-reliance. His passion for the Countess of Essex, afterwards divorced and re-married to Rochester, whose rising fortunes and handsome figure proved more attractive than the earnest love of the boy prince, is admitted by his most partial biographer. But, upon the whole, the verdict of those who have weighed him in the balance has been that he was manly, patriotic, a good supporter of the army and navy, accomplished, sober, chaste, temperate, honourable, upright, religious. And it is no small praise to Hall that out of the twenty-four royal chaplains, amid all the conflicting influences of such a household, he became the chief favourite of his young master.

On his return to London from his interview with the prince, his patron, seeing him looked after by some great persons, began to wish him at home, and told him that some one or other would be snatching him up.

"I answered, that it was in his power to prevent. Would he be pleased to make my maintenance but so competent as in right it should be, I would never stir from him. Instead of condescending, it pleased him to fall into an



earnest expostulation of the rate of competencies ; affirming the variableness thereof, according to our own estimation, and our either raising or moderating the causes of our expenses. I showed him the insufficiency of my means, that I was forced to write books to buy books. Shortly, some harsh and unpleasing answer so disheartened me, that I resolved to embrace the first opportunity of my remove.

“ Now, while I was taken up with these anxious thoughts, a messenger (it was Sir Robert Wingfield of Northampton’s son) came to me from the Lord Denny, now Earl of Norwich, my after-most-honourable patron, entreating me from his Lordship to speak with him. No sooner came I thither, than, after a glad and noble welcome, I was entertained with the earnest offer of Waltham. The conditions were, like the mover of them, free and bountiful. I received them as from the munificent hand of my God, and returned full of the cheerful acknowledgments of a gracious Providence over me.

“ Too late now did my former Noble Patron relent, and offer me those terms, which had, before, fastened me for ever. I returned home, happy in a new master, and in a new patron, betwixt whom I divided myself and my labours with much comfort and no less acceptance.”

CHAPTER VI.

FAREWELL TO HAWSTEAD.—WALTHAM.—HALL IN COUNSEL, ETC.

BEFORE leaving Hawstead, Hall addressed the following letter to Sir Robert Drury and his lady concerning his removal from them.

"With how unwilling a heart I leave you, He knows, that searches the heart: neither durst I go, but that I sensibly see His hand pulling me from you. Indeed, desire of competency betrayed me at first, and drew mine eyes to look aside; but, when I bent them upon the place and saw the number and the need of the people, together with their hunger and applause, meeting with the circumstances of God's strange conveyance of this offer to me, I saw that was but as the fowler's feather to make me stoop; and, contemning that respect of myself, I sincerely acknowledged higher motives of my yielding, and resolved I might not resist.

"You are dear to me, as a charge to a pastor; if my pains to you have not proved it, suspect me. Yet I leave you. God calls me to a greater work, I must follow Him. It were more ease to me to live secretly hidden in that quiet obscurity, as Saul amongst the stuff, than to be drawn out to the eye of the world, to act so high a part before a thousand witnesses. In this point, if I seem to neglect you, blame me not; I must neglect and forget myself.

"I can but labour wheresoever I am. God knows how



willingly I do that, whether there or here. I shall dig, and delve, and plant, in what ground soever my Master sets me. If He take me to a larger field, complain you not of loss, while the Church may gain.

“But, you are my own charge; no wise father neglects his own, in compassion of the greater need of others. Yet consider, that even careful parents, when the prince commands, leave their families, and go to warfare.

“What if God had called me to heaven? Would you have grudged my departure? Imagine that I am there, where I shall be; although the case be not to you altogether so hopeless; for, now I may hear of you, visit you, renew my holy counsels, and be mutually comforted from you; there, none of these. He that will once transpose me from earth to heaven, hath now chosen to transpose me from one piece of earth to another. What is here worthy of your sorrow, worthy of complaint? That should be for my own good, this shall be for the good of many. If your experience have taught you that my labours do promise profit, obtain of yourself to deny yourself so much, as to rejoice that the loss of a few should be the advantage of many souls. Though, why do I speak of loss? I speak that, as you fear, not my own, and your affection causes that fear, rather than the occasion.

“The God of the Harvest shall send you a labourer more able, as careful. That is my prayer, and hope, and shall be my joy. I dare not leave, but in this expectation, this assurance. Whatever become of me, it shall be my greatest comfort to hear you commend your change; and to see your happy progress in those ways I have both showed you and beaten. So shall we meet in the end, and never part.”

It is evident from this letter, called forth by expressions of regret at his departure (no doubt sincere) either verbal or in writing, that, in spite of the recent differences between him and Drury, the bond of

charity had been but slightly injured and quickly repaired. I am unable to ascertain the exact date of his leaving Hawstead; but there is an entry in the register of that church, which shows that it was probably before the summer of 1608. The entry runs thus: "July 4. 1608—Ezekiel Edgar, clericus, in art. mag. sup. præ. Roberti Drury Mil. Vacan. per resignationem ult. incumb."

His new patron, of whom he always spoke with the utmost affection, was a man who, winning his Sovereign's favour, passed from the condition of a country gentleman to the highest ranks of the nobility. Born in 1569, Edward Denny was knighted at the early age of twenty. When King James passed from Scotland to London at his accession to the throne, Sir Edward was High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, and met him with a noble retinue of a hundred and forty men, suitably apparelled and well-mounted, and made his Majesty a present of a fine steed with rich accoutrements, a no mean gift about the time when Sir Nicholas Arnold's* efforts to improve our breed of English horses were beginning to be felt. Next year he was summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Denny of Waltham. In 1626 he was made Earl of Norwich. His wife was Mary, third daughter of the Earl of Exeter, Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burleigh, and ancestor of the

*Sir Nicholas Arnold, third son of John Arnold, of Llanvihangel Crucorniensis, Monmouthshire, was Lord Deputy of Ireland in the reign of Elizabeth, and is said by Holinshed ("Chronicles") to have been the first improver of the breed of English horses. He imported the best blood of Spain and other countries, and at Higham Court, Gloucestershire, had a stud of above three hundred.



present Marquis of Exeter, by whom he had one child, Honora, who married Viscount Doncaster, our ambassador to France. Burleigh's younger son, Robert Cecil, it will be remembered, was made Earl of Salisbury in 1605, and is the ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury. Hall was thus brought under the immediate notice of the most distinguished families in the state, while his friendship with the Drurys was not ended, since we find him, some years after this, preaching at the dedication of the chapel of the Countess of Exeter, the second earl's second wife, who was a daughter of Sir William Drury, of Hawstead.

Waltham Church, of which Hall now became incumbent, was one of great historical interest. It was the Abbey Church originally founded by King Harold, and dedicated at first to the Holy Cross, afterwards to St. Laurence. Harold lived only four years after laying the foundations; the remainder was, therefore, built with the rest of the Abbey by degrees, and through the munificence of several benefactors, and was not completed until perhaps the time of Henry II. At the Reformation the chancel and choir had been pulled down, and, unfortunately, the central tower had partly fallen. A wall had, therefore, been run up at the east end, and a new tower erected at the west end. As in the case of other abbey churches, part of the sacred inclosure had become the garden land of the lord of the manor, and towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Edward Denny's gardener had discovered the coffin of King Harold, who, together with his two brothers, was buried in the church he founded. The king's bones, we are told,

lay in their proper order, without any kind of dirt, but, upon being touched, mouldered into dust. The Abbey having engrossed all the tithes and supplied the cure by one of their own members, the Church was left at the dissolution with a wretched pittance of £8 a year, and if the "donative," as it was called to distinguish it from rectory, vicarage, incumbency, or curacy, had not been endowed by Sir Edward Denny, Hall would have found the change little to his advantage.

On the 1st of May, 1608, Hall preached at Paul's Cross the first of his published sermons, on Pharisaism and Christianity. As might be expected after recent events, the Jesuits are roundly denounced. "A poor widow's cottage filled the paunch of an old Pharisee; how many fair patrimonies of devout young gentlemen Druryed by them (pardon the word, it is their own; the thing I know and can witness) have gone down the throat of these Loyolists, let their own Quodlibet and Catechism report. What speak I of secular inheritances? These eyes have seen no mean houses of devotion and charity swallowed up by them. As for their ambitious insinuations, not only all their own religious enviously cry down, but the whole world sees, and rings of. What oar of state can stir, without their rowing? What kingdom either stands or falls without their intermeddling? What noble family complains not of their prowling and stealth? And all this with a face of sad piety and stern mortification!" He spoke, too, with burning words of the dissensions in the Church; of simony and sacrilege; of the "multitude of unregarded charges and souls dying and starved for want of spiritual



provision ;” of courtiers grating upon poor trades with hard monopolies ; of merchants loading them with deep and unreasonable prices, and making them pay dear for days ; of great men wringing the poor sponges of the commonalty into their private purses, for the maintenance of pride and excess ; of cormorant cornmongers, hatching up a dearth in the time of plenty. God, he told these last, sends grain ; but many times the devil sends garners. The earth had been no niggard in yielding, they had been lavish in transporting and concealing. Let them not talk of the extreme frosts. If their charity were not more frozen than ever the earth was, mean housekeepers would not need to beg, nor the meanest to starve for want of bread. Drunkenness he lashes with a scorpion-whip, not unworthy of the present eloquent Canon of Westminster. “How shamefully is this vice, especially, grown upon us with time ! We knew it once in our ordinary speech appropriated to beggars ; now, gallants fight for it. This beastliness had wont to be bashful ; now, it is impudent ; once, children were wont to shout at a drunkard, as some foul wonder ; now, not to be drunk is quarrel enough among men, among friends ; those knees that we were wont to bow to the God of Heaven, are now bent to Bacchus in a paganish, bestial, devilish devotion. To leave the title of Christians, for shame let us be either men or beasts !”

Of Hall’s nine brothers and sisters we know little. With his good elder brother, to whose entreaties he owed his university education, we are already acquainted. A younger brother, Samuel, had some intentions, whether realised or not is uncertain, of entering Holy Orders. A sister was married to the

Rev. John Brinsley, whose son of the same name, educated at Emmanuel, was afterwards lecturer at Yarmouth, where he died in 1664, and was buried, aged sixty-four, in the Church of St. Nicholas. This latter was the author of the "*Ludus Literarius, or the Grammar Schoole*," dedicated to the Princes Henry and Charles, and published in 1612 with a commendatory preface by Hall. He also wrote several elementary books for the use of schools. Mr. Edmund Sleigh, too, Hall's maternal uncle at Derby, has come before us, with open purse defraying in part his nephew's expenses. His cousin Burton, whom he consulted concerning the version of the Psalms, was Archdeacon of Gloucester. His father and father-in-law both appear at this time in the "*Epistles*," and his intense devotion to his mother has already been described in his own affectionate words. But, so far as I am aware, Hall's works give us no further insight into the elder portion of the family circle. The little light we have, however, is enough to show the affection with which he was regarded, and the position he held as the comforter and counsellor of them all. From a letter dedicated to his father, the subject of which was the fear of death, it might be fairly conjectured that the old man was now approaching his end. The son sent him the following message of comfort :—

"You complain that you fear death; he is no man that doth not. Besides the pain, nature shrinks at the thought of parting. If you would learn the remedy, know the cause—for that she is ignorant and foolish. She would not be cowardly, if she were not foolish. Our fear is from doubt, and our doubt from unbelief; and whence is our unbelief but chiefly from ignorance? She knows not what good



is elsewhere ; she believes not her part in it. Get once true knowledge and true faith, your fear shall vanish alone. Assurance of heavenly things makes us willing to part with earthly ; he cannot condemn this life that knows not the other. If you would despise earth, therefore, think of heaven ; if you would have death easy, think of that glorious life that follows it. Certainly, if we can endure pain for health, much more shall we abide a few pangs for glory.

“Think how fondly we fear a vanquished enemy. Lo ! Christ hath triumphed over death ; He bleedeth and gaspeth under us, and yet we tremble. It is enough to us that Christ died ; neither would He have died, but that we might die with safety and pleasure.

“Think, that death is necessarily annexed to nature. We are for a time, on condition that we shall not be ; we receive life, but upon the terms of redelivery. Necessity makes some things easy, as it usually makes easy things difficult. It is a fond injustice to embrace the covenant, and shrink at the condition.

“Think, there is but one common road to all flesh ; there are no bye-paths of any fairer or nearer way, no, not for princes. Even company abateth miseries, and the commonness of an evil makes it less fearful. What worlds of men are gone before us ; yea, how many thousands out of one field ! How many crowns and sceptres lie piled up at the gates of death, which their owners have left there as spoils to the conqueror ! Have we been at so many graves, and so often seen ourselves die in our friends ; and do we shrink when our course cometh ? Imagine you alone were exempted from the common law of mankind, or were condemned to Methuselah's age ; assure yourself death is not now so fearful as your life would then be wearisome.

“Think, not so much what death is, as from whom he comes, and for what. We receive even homely messengers and from great persons not without respect to their masters ; and what matters it who he be, so he bring us

good news? What news can be better than this—that God sends for you to take possession of a kingdom? Let them fear death which know him but as a pursuivant sent from hell; whom their conscience accuses of a life wilfully filthy, and binds over secretly to condemnation. We know whither we are going, and whom we have believed. Let us pass on cheerfully through these black gates, unto our glory.

“Lastly, know that our improvidence only adds terror unto death. Think of death, and you shall not fear it. Do you not see that even bears and tigers seem not terrible to those that live with them? How have we seen their keepers sport with them, when the beholders durst scarce trust their chain? Be acquainted with death; though he look grim upon you at the first, you shall find him, yea, you shall make him, a good companion. Familiarity cannot stand with fear.

“These are recipes enough. Too much store doth rather overwhelm than satisfy. Take but these, and I dare promise you security.”

It is pleasing to relate that filial piety reaped its reward. Within a few months the father had passed away, finishing his course with joy. Writing to Sir Andrew Asteley, Hall says:—

“Since I saw you I saw my father die. How boldly and merrily did he pass through the gates of death, as if they had had no terror, but much pleasure! Oh, that I could as easily imitate, as not forget him! We know we must tread the same way; how happy if with the same mind! . . . We lament the loss of our parents; how soon shall our sons bewail ours! Lo! I that write this, and you that read it, how long are we here? It were well if the world were as our tent, yea, as our inn, if not to lodge, yet to bait in but now it is only our thoroughfare; one generation passeth another cometh, none stayeth. If this



earth were a paradise, and this which we call our life were sweet as the joys above, yet, how should this fickleness of it cool our delight!"

His father-in-law, Mr. George Weniffe, having complained of dulness, Hall writes exciting him to Christian cheerfulness, and, while reminding him that his disease was common and not unknown even to minds capable of contemning vanities, pointed out that "we sin if we rejoice not. There is not more error in false mirth than in unjust heaviness. If worldlings offend, that they laugh when they should mourn; we shall offend no less if we droop in cause of cheerfulness." His sister, Mrs. Brinsley, told him of her sorrow, that she could not enough grieve for her sins. The reply is ample proof that the writer, by the comfort wherewith he was himself comforted, was able to comfort them in trouble.

"It is seldom seen that a silent grief speeds well. For either a man must have strong hands of resolution to strangle it in his bosom, or else it drives him to some secret mischief; whereas sorrow revealed is half remedied, and even abates in the uttering. Your grief was wisely disclosed, and shall be as strangely answered.

"I am glad of your sorrow, and should weep for you if you did not thus mourn. Your sorrow is that you cannot enough grieve for your sins. Let me tell you that the angels themselves sing at this lamentation; neither doth the earth afford any so sweet music in the ears of God. This heaviness is the way to joy. Worldly sorrow is worthy of pity, because it leadeth to death; but this deserves nothing but envy and gratulation.

"If those tears were common hell would not so enlarge itself. Never sin repented of was punished, and never any thus mourned and repented not. Lo! you have done that

which you grieve you have not done. That good God, Whose act is His will, accounts of our will as our deed. If He required sorrow proportionable to the heinousness of our sins, there were no end of our mourning. Now, His mercy regards not so much the measure as the truth of it, and accounts us to have that which we complain to want.

“I never knew any truly penitent which, in the depth of his remorse, was afraid of sorrowing too much; nor any unrepentant, which wished to sorrow more. Yea, let me tell you, that the sorrow is better and more than that deep heaviness for sin which you desire. Many have been vexed with an extreme remorse for some sin, from the gripe of a galled conscience, which yet never came where true repentance grew, in whom the conscience plays at once the accuser, witness, judge, tormentor; but an earnest grief for the want of grief was never found in any but a gracious heart. You are happy, and complain. Tell me, I beseech you—this sorrow which you mourn to want, is it a grace of the Spirit of God, or not? If not, why do you sorrow to want it? If it be, oh, how happy is it to grieve for want of grace! The God of all Truth and Blessedness hath said, *Blessed are those that hunger and thirst after righteousness*; and with the same breath, *Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted*. You say you mourn; Christ saith you are blessed. Either now distrust your Saviour, or else confess your happiness, and, with patience, expect His promised consolation.

“What do you fear? You see others stand like strong oaks, unshaken, unremoved; you are but a reed, a feeble plant, tossed and bowed with every wind, and with much agitation bruised. Lo! you are in tender and favourable hands, that never brake any whom their sins bruised, never bruised any whom their temptations have bowed. You are but flax, and your best is not a flame, but an obscure smoke of grace. Lo! here His Spirit is as a soft wind, not as cold water; He will kindle, will never quench you.

“The sorrow you want is His gift; take heed, lest while

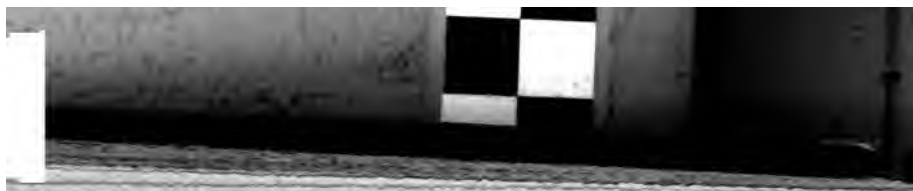


you vex yourself with dislike of the measure, you grudge at the Giver. Beggars may not choose. This portion He hath vouchsafed to give you. If you have any, it is more than He was bound to bestow; yet you say, 'What, no more!' as if you took it unkindly that He is no more liberal. Even these holy discontentments are dangerous. Desire more, so much as you can; but repine not, when you do not attain. Desire, but so as you be free from impatience, free from unthankfulness. Those that have tried can say how difficult it is to complain, with due reservation of thanks. Neither know I whether is worse, to long for good things impatiently, or not at all to desire them.

"The fault of your sorrow is rather in your conceit than in itself. And, if indeed you mourn not enough, stay but God's leisure, and your eyes shall run over with tears. How many do you see sport with their sins, yea, brag of them! How many that should die for want of pastime, if they might not sin freely, and more freely talk of it! What a saint are you to these that can droop under the memory of the frailty of youth, and never think you have spent enow tears! Yet so I encourage you in what you have as one that persuades you not to desist from suing for more. It is good to be covetous of grace, and to have our desires herein enlarged with our receipts. Weep still, and still desire to weep; but let your tears be as the rain in a sunshine, comfortable and hopeful, and let not your longing savour of murmur or distrust. These tears are reserved, this hunger shall be satisfied, this sorrow shall be comforted. There is nothing betwixt God and you but time. Prescribe not to His wisdom, hasten not His mercy. His grace is enough for you, His glory shall be more than enough."

To his brother he wrote the following letter, invaluable to those who would understand his character, and a useful guide to the ministry:—

"It is a great and holy purpose, dear brother, that you



have entertained of serving God in His Church ; for, what higher or more worthy employment can there be than to do these Divine duties to such a Master, and such a Mother ?

“Wherein yet I should little rejoice if any necessity had cast you upon this refuge ; for I hate and grieve to think that any desperate mind should make divinity but a shift, and dishonour this mistress by being forsaken of the world. This hath been the drift of your education, to this you were born and dedicated in a direct course. I do willingly encourage you, but not without many cautions. Enter not into so great a service without much foresight. When your hand is at the plough, it is too late to look back. Bethink yourself seriously of the weight of this charge, and let your holy desire be allayed with some trembling. It is a foolish rashness of young heads, when they are in God’s chair, to wonder how they came thither, and to forget the awfulness of that place in the confidence of their own strength, which is ever so much less as it is more esteemed. I commend not the wayward excuses of Moses, nor the peremptory unwillingness of Ammonius and friar Thomas, who maimed themselves that they might be ruefully incapable. Betwixt both these there is an humble modesty, and religious fearfulness, easily to be noted in those whom the Church honours with the names of her Fathers, worthy your imitation ; wherein yet you shall need no precedents, if you well consider what worth of parts, what strictness of carriage, what weight of offices, God expects in this vocation.

“Know first, that in this place there will be more holiness required of you than in the ordinary station of a Christian ; for, whereas before you were but as a common line, now God sets you for a copy of sanctification unto others, wherein every fault is both notable and dangerous. Here is looked for a settled acquaintance with God, and experience both of the proceedings of grace, and of the offers and repulses of temptations, which in vain we shall hope to manage in other hearts, if we have not found in our



own. To speak by aim or rote of repentance, of contrition, of the degrees of regeneration and faith, is both harsh, and seldom profitable. We trust those physicians best which have tried the virtue of their drugs, esteeming not of those who have only borrowed of their books. Here will be expected a free and absolute government of affections, that you can so steer your own vessel as not to be transported with fury, with self-love, with immoderation of pleasures, of cares, of desires, with excess of passions; in all which so must you demean yourself as one that thinks he is no man of the world, but of God, as one too good by his double calling for that which is either the felicity or impotency of beasts. Here must be continual and inward exercise of mortification, and severe Christianity, whereby the heart is held in due awe, and the weak flames of the spirit quickened, the ashes of our dulness blown off, a practice necessary in him whose devotion must set many hearts on fire. Here must be wisdom and inoffensiveness of carriage, as of one that goes ever under monitors and knows other men's indifferences are his evils. No man hath such need to keep a strict mean. Setting aside contempt, even in observation, behold, *we are made a gazing stock to the world, to angels, to men.* The very sail of your estate must be moderated, which if it bear too high, as seldom, incurs the censure of profusion and Epicurism; if too low, of a base and unbecoming earthliness. Your hand may not be too close for others' need, nor too open for your own. Your conversation may not be rough and sullen, nor over familiar and fawning, whereof the one breeds a conceit of pride and strangeness, the other contempt; not loosely merry, not cynically unsociable; not contentious in small injuries, in great not hurtfully patient to the Church. Your attire (for whither do not censures reach?) not youthfully wanton, not, in these years, affectedly ancient, but grave and comely like the mind, like the behaviour of the wearer. Your gesture like your habit, neither savouring of giddy lightness, nor overly insolence, nor wantonness, nor dull neglect of yourself, but such as may beseem a mortified mind, full of



worthy spirits. Your speech, like your gesture, not scurrilous, not detracting, not idle, not boasting, not rotten, not peremptory; but honest, mild, fruitful, savoury, and such as may both argue and work grace. Your deliberations mature, your resolutions well grounded, your devices sage and holy. Neither will it serve you to be thus good alone; but, if God shall give you the honour of this estate, the world will look you should be the grave guide of a well-ordered family. For this is proper to us, that the vices of our charge reflect upon us, the sins of others are our reproach. If another man's children miscarry, the patient is pitied, if a minister's, censured; yea, not our servant is faulty without our blemish. In all these occasions, a misery incident to us alone, our grief is our shame."

The hint given by Hall that the minister's dress in those years should not be "affectedly ancient," is curiously illustrated by Archbishop Bancroft's letter about pluralities in 1610. It is there said that never was clerical pride in the matter of apparel so great as it then was, from the dean to every curate, nothing being left that way to distinguish a bishop from any of them. Deans, nay even some archdeacons and inferior ministers, were to be found in their velvet, damask, or satin cassocks, with their silk netherstocks. These last—sometimes "wonderful to behold"—had been prohibited by Queen Elizabeth to all under the degree of a knight, excepting gentlemen of her household with a few others, and such as could afford to spend £200 a year. The same letter, too, throws some light upon Hall's other remarks about the "grave guide of a well-ordered family." The wives, in the cost and vanity of their apparel, exceeded as much or more, and this was the chief cause of the outcry against double-beneficed



men, and of the prevailing envy and heart-burning against their calling and estates. The archbishop severely reprimands the offenders, reminding them that many of them took more care to garnish themselves than to furnish their studies with useful books.

From the foregoing letters, not brought together in strict order of time, but all belonging to the few years immediately preceding 1611, the reader will be able to judge of Hall's power of sympathy, a splendid gift which he possessed in an eminent degree, a treasure of the soul which increased in richness with the ever-growing fulness of his spiritual life. Before we resume the narrative, let us glance at one or two instances of his helpfulness in other directions. Thomas James, D.D., born about 1571, at Newport, Isle of Wight, was a scholar of Winchester School and fellow of New College. In 1599 he published the "Philobiblion" of Richard of Durham, and for this service to literature was made keeper of the Bodleian. He subsequently published a catalogue of the books in that famous library, an "Apology for John Wickliffe," "Concordances to the Fathers," "The Jesuits' Downfall," and other works. But his great ambition was to collate the manuscripts of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and it is here that he is brought into contact with Hall, who addressed him thus :—

"Sir, I know no man so like as you to make posterity his debtor. Our adversaries, knowing of themselves that which Tertullian saith of all heresies, that if appeal be made to the sacred bench of prophets and apostles, they cannot stand, remove the suit of religion craftily into the court of the Fathers, a reverend trial as any under heaven; where it cannot be spoken how confidently they triumph ere the

conflict. 'Give us the Fathers for our judges,' say Campion and Possevine, 'the day is ours.' And whence is this courage? Is antiquity our enemy, their advocate? Certainly, it cannot be truth, that is new; we would renounce our religion if it could be overlooked for time. Let go equity; the older take both. There be two things, then, that give them heart in this provocation—one, the bastardy of false fathers; the other, the corruption of the true. . . . Plainly, how are the honoured volumes of faithful antiquity blurred, interlined, altered, depraved by subtle treachery, and made to speak what they meant not! . . . Hence, those Fathers are somewhere not ours, what wonder? while they are not themselves. Your industry hath offered, and that motion is lively and heroical, to challenge all their learned and excellent pages from injury of corruption, to restore them to themselves, and to us. That which all the learned of our times have but desired to see done, you proffer to effect. Your essay in Cyprian and Austin is happy, and justly applauded. All our libraries, whom your diligent hand hath ransacked, offer their aid in such abundance of manuscripts, as all Europe would envy to see that in one island. After all this, for that the most spiteful imputation to our truth is novelty, you offer to deduce her pedigree from those primitive times, through the successions of all ages; and to bring into the light of the world many, as yet obscure, but no less certain and authentical patrons, in a continued line of defence. You have given proof enough that these are no glorious vaunts, but the zealous challenges of an able champion. What wanteth then? Let me say for you: not a heart, not a head, not a hand; but, which I almost scorn to name in such a cause, a purse. If this continue your hinderance, it will not be more our loss than shame. Hear me a little, ye great and wealthy. Hath God loaded you with so much substance, and will you not lend Him a little of His own? Shall your riot be fed with excess, while God's cause shall starve for want? Shall our adversaries

so insultingly outbid us, and, in the zeal of their profusion, laugh at our heartless and cold niggardliness? Shall heavenly truth lie in the dust for want of a little stamped earth to raise her? How can you so much any way honour God, yea, yourselves, deserve of posterity, pleasure the Church, and make you so good friends of your mammon? Let not the next age say that she had so unkind predecessors. Fetch forth of your superfluous store, and cast in your rich gifts into this treasury of the Temple. The Lord and His Church have need. For you, it angers me to see how that flattering Possevinus smoothly entices you from us, with golden offers, upon the advantage of our neglect. . . . As if we were not as able to encourage, to reward desert. Hath virtue no patrons on this side of the Alps? Are those hills only the thresholds of honour? I plead not, because I cannot fear you; but who sees not how munificently our Church scattereth her bountiful favours upon less merit? If your day be not yet come, expect it; God and the Church owe you a benefit; if their payment be long, it is sure. Only go on with courage in those your high endeavours, and in the meantime think it great recompense to have deserved."

This appeal was not successful in bringing the necessary funds, and James's design was never carried out. Still, he did not yield to the seductions of Possevin. The preferment Hall anticipated for him came at last in the shape of the Rectory of Mongeham, Kent, and the Sub-deanery of Wells. He died at Oxford, August 1629.

Hall's public spirit and readiness in prompting to good was also exhibited in another event which happily passed beyond the sphere of design. This was the founding of the Charter House. Mr. Thomas Sutton, who was one of the richest commoners in England, was known to have long purposed that

munificent work, but, apparently, was hesitating as to the time. Hall urged him to proceed, and, amongst other things, said, "You cannot but know that your full hand and worthy purposes have possessed the world with much expectation. What speak I of the world? whose honest and reasonable claims cannot be contemned with honour, nor disappointed without dishonour. The God of Heaven, Which hath lent you this abundance, and given you the gracious thoughts of charity, of piety, looks long for the issue of both, and will easily complain, either of too little, or too late. . . . The Christian knows that *Well done, faithful servant*, is a thousand times more sweet a note than *Soul, take thine ease*. Blessed be that God Which hath given you a heart to forethink this, and, in this dry and dead age, a will to honour Him with His own, and to credit His gospel with your beneficence. So, we are upbraided with barrenness; your name hath been publicly opposed to these challenges, as in whom it shall be seen, that the truth hath friends that can give. I neither distrust nor persuade you, whose resolutions are happily fixed on purposes of good. Only give me leave to hasten your pace a little, and to excite your Christian forwardness to begin speedily what you have long and constantly vowed. You would not but do good. Why not now? I speak boldly, the more speed, the more comfort. Neither the times are in our disposing, nor ourselves. If God had set us a day, and made our wealth inseparable, there were no danger in delaying; now, our uncertainty either must quicken us, or may deceive us. How many have meant well, and done nothing, and lost their crown with lingering!



Whose destinies have prevented their desires, and have made their good motions the wards of their executors! Not without miserable success; to whom that they would have done good is not so great a praise, as it is dishonour that they might have done it. Their wrecks are our warnings; we are equally mortal, equally fickle . . . How many executors have proved the executioners of honest wills! . . . Happy is that man that may be his own auditor, supervisor, executor. As you love God and yourself, be not afraid of being happy too soon. Suffer you yourself, therefore, good sir, for God's sake, for the Gospel's sake, for the Church's sake, for your soul's sake, to be stirred up by these poor lines to a resolute and speedy performing of your worthy intentions, and take this as a loving invitation sent from heaven, by an unworthy messenger." Thomas Sutton bought Howard House, once a Carthusian monastery, of the Earl of Suffolk in 1611, for £13,000, and laid the foundation of the hospital, which has done, and is doing, so much for English education; but he did not live to see his work finished. Before the end of the next year he was lying in the grave—a touching comment on Hall's counsel, borrowed from the Son of Sirach, "Do good before thou die."



CHAPTER VII.

*"THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VIRTUE AND VICE."—
EARLIEST CONTROVERSIAL WORKS.—REFUSAL
TO LEAVE WALTHAM.—DEATH OF PRINCE
HENRY.*

THERE might appear at first sight to be some inconsistency in a character which so largely combined tender sympathy and keen satire, yet the power for either certainly springs from the same root—a wide knowledge of human nature. To note the habits and feelings of those to whom we are well disposed, and, from the experience of our own pleasures and pains under similar circumstances, to treat them as we would ourselves, is sympathy ; to keep an equally watchful eye upon those to whom we are averse, and partly from sympathy with the opposite virtues, partly from indignation at wrong, to lash their vices, is satire. Hall's study was not confined to books even now, but men formed no small part of his reading. His sympathies are better trained and cultivated, his judgment is more accurate, his spiritual experience deeper, his charity more energetic ; still the satirical temper is left, and there is evidence that it occasioned the owner some trouble in directing it aright. A harmless exercise for it was found in his "Characterisms of Vices," the counterpart of his "Charac-



terisms of Virtues,"* in some of which, he says, "Perhaps (which thing I do at once fear and hate) my style shall seem to some less grave, more satirical. If you find me, not without cause, jealous, let it please you to impute it to the nature of those vices which will not be otherwise handled. The fashions of some evils are, besides the odiousness, ridiculous; which to repeat is to seem bitterly merry. I abhor to make sport with wickedness, and forbid any laughter here but of disdain." For the conception of this picture-gallery, in which he shows himself so consummate a portrait-painter, Hall was indebted to the heathen moralists, the "divines" of the ancient world, some of whom "bestowed their time in drawing out the true lineaments of every virtue and vice so lively, that they who saw the medals might know the face: which art they significantly termed *Charactery*. Their papers were so many tables, their writings so many speaking pictures or living images, whereby the ruder multitude might even by their sense learn to know virtue and discern what to detest." He thought it no shame to learn wit of heathens, neither was it material in whose school he took out a good lesson; there was more shame in not following their good, than in not leaving them better. As one, therefore, that in worthy examples held imitation better than invention, he had trodden in their paths, and out of their tablets had drawn

* The "Characters of Virtues and Vices" was published not later than 1608. There is a copy of that date in the Bodleian. It was translated into French in 1610. There is also a copy of this in the Bodleian. Portions were put into English Verse by Nahum Tate in 1691.



these larger portraitures of both sorts. In passing through the gallery we find the wise man, the honest man, the faithful man, the humble man, the valiant man, the patient man, the true friend, the truly noble, the good magistrate, the penitent, and, last upon this side, the happy man ; on the other, the hypocrite, in brief, " the stranger's saint, the neighbour's disease, the blot of goodness, a rotten stick in a dark night, a poppy in a cornfield, an ill-tempered candle with a great snuff, that in going out smells ill, an angel abroad, a devil at home, and worse when an angel, than when a devil ; " next comes the busybody, whose " estate being too narrow for his mind, he is fain to make himself room in others' affairs, and labours without thanks, talks without credit, lives without love, dies without tears, without pity, save that some say it was pity he died no sooner ; " then the superstitious ; the profane ; the malcontent, " neither well full, nor fasting ; " the inconstant ; the flatterer, " the moth of liberal men's coats, the earwig of the mighty, the bane of courts, a friend and a slave to the trencher, and good for nothing, but to be a factor for the devil ; " the slothful, " a standing fool which cannot choose but gather corruption, descried among a thousand neighbours by a dry and nasty hand that still savours of the sheet, a beard uncut and uncombed, an eye and ear yellow with their excretions, a coat shaken on, ragged, unbrushed, linen and face striving whether shall excel in uncleanness ; " the covetous, who returning from the field asks, not without much rage, what became of the loose crust in his cupboard, and who hath rioted among his leeks, who never eats a good meal but on his neighbour's



trencher, where he makes amends to his complaining stomach for his former and future fasts, who, if his servant break but an earthen dish for want of light, abates it out of his quarter's wages," and does many other mean things.

Passing by these with only just a glance, let us pause and consider more in detail the portrait of a character which the reader will probably admit is by no means obsolete, though the features will, of course, be somewhat changed after so long a time. This is the vainglorious.

"All his humour rises up into the froth of ostentation, which, if it once settle, falls down into a narrow room. If the excess be in the understanding part, all his wit is in print, the press hath left his head empty; yea, not only what he had, but what he could borrow without leave. If his glory be in his devotion, he gives not an alms but on record; and, if he have once done well, God hears of it often: for, upon every unkindness, he is ready to upbraid Him with his merits. Over and above his own discharge, he hath some satisfaction to spare for the common treasure. He can fulfil the law with ease, and earn God with superfluity. If he have bestowed but a little sum in the glazing, paving, walling of God's house, you shall find it in the church-window. Or, if a more gallant humour possess him, he wears all his land on his back; and, walking high, looks over his left shoulder to see if the point of his rapier follow him with a grace. He is proud of another man's horse; and, well mounted, thinks every man wrongs him that looks not at him. A bare head in the street doth him more good than a meal's meat. He swears big at an ordinary; and talks of the court with a sharp accent: neither vouchsafes to name any not honourable, nor those without some term of familiarity; and likes well to see the hearer look upon him amazedly, as if he said, 'How happy



is this man, that is so great with great ones !' Under pretence of seeking for a scroll of news, he draws out a handful of letters, indorsed with his own style, to the height, half reading every title, passes over the latter part with a murmur, not without signifying what lord sent this, what great lady the other, and for what suits : the last paper, as it happens, is his news from his honourable friend in the French Court. In the midst of dinner his lacquey comes sweating in with a sealed note from his creditor, who now threatens a speedy arrest, and whispers the ill-news in his master's ear, when he aloud names a counsellor of state, and professes to know the employment. The same messenger he calls with an imperious nod ; and, after expostulation, where he hath left his fellows, in his ear sends him for some new spur-leathers, or stockings by this time footed ; and, when he is gone half the room, recalls him, and saith aloud, 'It is no matter, let the greater bag alone till I come ;' and, yet again calling him closer, whispers, so that all the table may hear, that if his crimson suit be ready against the day, the rest need not haste. He picks his teeth when his stomach is empty ; and calls for pheasants at a common inn. You shall find him prizing the richest jewels and fairest horses, when his purse yields not money enough for earnest. He thrusts himself into the press before some great ladies ; and loves to be seen near the head of a great train. His talk is how many mourners he furnished with gowns at his father's funeral, how many messes ; how rich his coat is, and how ancient ; how great his alliance ; what challenges he hath made and answered ; what exploits he did at Calais, or Nieuport ; and, when he hath commended others' buildings, furniture, suits, compares them with his own. When he hath undertaken to be the broker for some rich diamond, he wears it ; and, pulling off his glove to stroke up his hair, thinks no eye should have any other object. Entertaining his friend, he chides his cook for no better cheer ; and names the dishes he meant and wants. To conclude, he is ever on the stage,



and acts a still glorious part abroad ; when no man carries a baser heart, no man is more sordid and careless at home. He is a Spanish soldier on an Italian theatre ; a bladder full of wind, a skin full of words ; a fool's wonder, and a wise man's fool."

We may not tarry with the distrustful man, who comes next, nor the ambitious, or envious, but must hasten on to other work which engaged Hall's attention about this time. Of a more sober kind, though perhaps not more beneficial to any one except the preacher, was the "Solomon's Divine Arts," composed as a congratulatory present for the young Earl of Essex, on his return from abroad, and consisting of Solomon's precepts brought together and arranged without comment under the three heads of Ethics, Politics, Economics, or the government of Behaviour, Commonwealth, Family. For some time, too, he had been preparing to enter the dusty arena of controversy. As might almost have been expected, he would not be a silent spectator of the strife between his royal master, aided by the gifted and learned Andrews on the one side, and the no less talented Bellarmine on the other. He, too, mingled in the fray. His first shaft was a tract, called "A Serious Dissuasion from Popery," soon followed by another in 1609, bearing the ironical title of "The Peace of Rome." Its nature will be best understood from the full title, which ran thus : "The Peace of Rome, proclaimed to all the world by her famous Cardinal Bellarmine, and the no less famous casuist, Navarre ; whereof the one acknowledgeth and numbers up above Three Hundred Differences of Opinion, maintained in the Popish Church ; the other confesses near Threescore Differences amongst

their own Doctors, in one only point of their Religion. Gathered faithfully out of their writings, in their own words, and divided into Four Books, and those into several Decades. Whereto is prefixed a serious Dissuasive from Popery. By J. H." The volume was dedicated to Prince Henry, whom, he said, the Romanists grieved to see, in the early spring of his age, so firmly rooted in the truth, and, before Hannibal's years, threatening hostility to error. He hopes that it will never be forgotten that in their bloody project, the prince's limbs also should have flown up to heaven with his soul. He prays that God, Who has reserved him for the Second Hope and Stay of the Christian World, may prosper his gracious proceedings, according to the promise of their entrance. His next polemical work in the same direction was the "No Peace with Rome," which title with that of "The Peace of Rome" gave rise to an amusing error:—A foreign author came to the conclusion that Hall had changed his mind, and was reconciled to the Roman Church. Elsewhere an attempt has been made to give some account of Hall as a controversialist. The author, therefore, forbears to take his readers over the necessarily somewhat dry and barren track of these disputes, and contents himself with pointing out that some twenty years afterwards Hall had occasion, when fiercely assailed on the ground of his leniency towards Rome, to show that he was then in this respect the same that he had ever been. He does, indeed, ask, "Can any man be so foolish to hope that our Church will ever be so mad as thus basely to bolster up the great bridge-maker of Tiber; as though we could be ignorant how Christ never either performed or

promised them any such privilege (as infallibility)? For, where is it written, as Luther jested well, unless perhaps at Rome, in St. Peter's, upon some chimney with a coal?" But notwithstanding this, he always maintained that Rome was a "truly visible Church, only an unsound," and it was for maintaining this that he incurred so much odium, and was subjected to the imputation of having accommodated his views to his desires for episcopal promotion. Hall, it will be seen in the sequel, amply vindicated himself, and Bishop Sanderson, in the preface to his Sermons, has added his testimony:—"With what outcries was Bishop Hall (good man, who little dreamt of any peace with Rome) pursued by Burton and other Hotspurs for yielding it *a Church?* who had made the same *concession* over and over again *before he was Bishop* (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best controversie-writers generally do) and no *notice* taken, no *noise* made of it. You may perceive by this *one instance*, where the *shoe wringeth*."

In his letters Hall had occasionally treated of controversial topics, and, among others, had addressed an epistle to Smith and Robinson, who, at Amsterdam, were at the head of the Brownist separatists from the Anglican Church. In 1610, some eighteen months after this, he received an answer to what was called his "Censorious Epistle" in the shape of what he termed a "stomachful pamphlet," which, beside the private wrongs of which he complains, cast upon the honoured name of his dear mother, the Church of England, "blasphemous imputations of Apostacy, Antichristianism, Whoredom Rebellion." The next two months were occupied in writing the "Common Apology of the Church of England

against the unjust challenges of the over-just sect, commonly called the Brownists," in which he discussed at considerable length the various positions taken up by the opponents. It would be perhaps unprofitable to follow these in detail, all the more as they have received some attention in the chapter on controversy. One subject, however, should be considered, since much of Hall's reputation as a polemic rests upon his subsequent treatment of the question, and it is interesting to mark the gradual formation of his opinions. What views did he hold at this time respecting the ministry of the established Church? He admitted its Divine origin. It was "devised by our Saviour, when He said, 'Go teach all nations and baptize,' etc. (Matt. xxviii. 19); and performed in continuance, when He gave some to be pastors and teachers (Eph. iv. 11)." Some part of the ministry thus devised by our Saviour was not to continue, viz., apostles, prophets, evangelists; the ordinary callings of pastors and doctors "were intended to perpetuity." These pastors and doctors, "call them what you please, superintendents, that is bishops, prelates, priests, lecturers, parsons, vicars, etc.," . . . are allowed by Christ. As regards bishops in particular, he contends that "everywhere, in all ages, there has been an allowed superiority of Church-governors under this title." He invites Calvin to tell his opponents that, "even in the primitive Church, the presbyters chose one out of their number in every city, whom they titled their bishop, lest dissension should arise from equality." The position of Hall is clearly not Erastian. Nor is it that of Hooker—that episcopal government is an ecclesiastical institution, having



indeed a Divine sanction, but not binding of necessity in perpetuity. Calvin was still a power in the formation of his opinions, and the vision of Calvin brought with it not only the Churches of Calvin's principles, but the other continental reformed, who, it seemed, might be contemned by a too high esteem of our discipline. But Bancroft, in his famous sermon at Paul's Cross in 1589, had led the way in showing that Scripture was on the side of episcopacy. Saravia, in 1591, had maintained it to be "an apostolical tradition and a Divine institution." Bilson, with his "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church," in 1593, had driven Puritan assailants from every stronghold on the other side, and Bancroft, with his "Survey," in the same year, had supported him in the attack. King James's axiom concerning the connection between a bishop and a king was sounded forth far beyond the room in which sat the Hampton Court Conference. All this had influenced the mind of Hall, and he had advanced many steps towards a correct solution of the question. Upon the whole, it appears that now, though he made episcopal superiority to be in a sense of Divine origin, inasmuch as a bishop was a "pastor and doctor," and pastors and doctors were given by Christ, yet in reality it was, according to him, a perpetual ordinance based on expediency.

The great event of this year, which sent a shock through Europe, was the assassination of the French monarch, Henry IV., by the fanatic Ravallac. There is a letter from Hall to Peter Moulin on the sad event. Moulin (b. 1568) in his younger days, after studying at Sedan, had gone to Cambridge, which he left to become professor of philosophy at

Leyden, where also he taught Greek. Returning to France in 1599, he was, at the time of Henry's murder, preacher of the Protestant church at Paris, and was bold enough to charge the Jesuits with the crime, thus becoming involved in a contest with Cotton, the late king's confessor. Hall wrote as follows :—

“Since your travels here with us we have not forgotten you ; but since that your witty and learned travels in the common affairs of religion have made your memory both fresh and blessed.

“Behold, while your hand was happily busy in the defence of our king, the heads and hands of traitors were busy in the massacring of your own. God doth no memorable and public act, which he would not have talked of, read, construed of all the world ; how much more of neighbours, whom scarce a sea severeth from each other ! how much yet more of brethren, whom neither land nor sea can sever ! Your dangers, and fears, and griefs, have been ours ; all the salt water that runs betwixt us cannot wash off our interest in all your common causes. The deadly blow of that miscreant, whose name is justly sentenced to forgetfulness, pierced even our sides. Who hath not bled within himself, to think that he who had so victoriously outlived the swords of enemies, should fall by the knife of a villain ? And that he should die in the peaceable streets whom no fields could kill ? that all those honourable and happy triumphs should end in so base a violence ?

“But, oh our idleness and impiety ! if we see not a Divine hand from above striking with this hand of disloyalty. Sparrows fall not to the ground without Him ; much less kings. One dies by a tile-sherd ; another by the splinters of a lance ; one by lice ; another by a fly ; one by poison ; another by a knife. What are all these but the executioners of that great God Which hath said, *Ye are gods, but ye shall die like men* ?



“Perhaps God saw (that we may guess modestly at the reasons of His acts) you reposed too much in this arm of flesh ; or, perhaps, He saw this scourge would have been too early to those enemies whose sin, though great, yet was not full ; or, perhaps He saw that if that great spirit had been deliberately yielded in his bed, you should not have slept in yours ; or, perhaps the ancient connivance at those streams of blood, from your too common duels, was now called to reckoning ; or, it may be, that weak revolt from the truth.

“He, Whose the rod was, knows why He struck ; yet may it not pass without a note, that he fell by that religion to which he fell. How many ages might that great monarch have lived, whatsoever the ripe head of your more than mellow Cotton could imagine, ere his least finger should have bled by the hand of a Huguenot ! All religions may have some monsters ; but, blessed be the God of Heaven, ours shall never yield that good Jesuit, either a Mariana to teach treason, or a Ravallac to act it. But what is it that we hear ? It is no marvel. That holy society is a fit guardian for the hearts of kings. I dare say none more loves to see them ; none takes more care to purchase them. How happy, think they, if it were full of such shrines ! I hope all Christian princes have long and well learned, so great is the courtesy of these good fathers, that they shall never, by their wills, need be troubled with the charge of their own hearts. A heart of a king in a Jesuit’s hand is as proper as a wafer in a priest’s. Justly was it written of old, under the picture of Ignatius Loyola, *Cavete vobis, principes !* ‘Be wise, O ye princes !’ and learn to be the keepers of your own hearts. Yea rather, O Thou Keeper of Israel, that neither slumberest nor sleepest, keep Thou the hearts of all Christian kings, whether alive or dead, from the keeping of this traitorous generation, whose very religion is holy rebellion, and whose merits bloody. Doubtless, that murderer hoped to have stabbed thousands with that blow, and to have let out the life of religion at the side of

her collapsed patron. God did at once laugh and frown at his project; and suffered him to live, to see himself no less a fool than a villain. Oh, the infinite goodness of the wise and holy Governor of the world! Who could have looked for such a calm in the midst of a tempest? Who would have thought that violence would beget peace? Who durst have conceived that King Henry should die alone; and that religion should lose nothing but his person? *This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.* You have now paralleled us. Out of both our fears God hath fetched security. Oh, that out of our security we could as easily fetch fear, not so much of evil, as of the Author of good; and yet trust Him in our fear, and in both magnify Him! Yea, you have by this act gained some converts against the hope of the agents; neither can I without many joyful congratulations think of the estate of your Church, which every day honours with the access of new clients whose tears and sad confessions make the angels to rejoice in heaven, and the saints on earth. We should give you example, if our peace were as plentiful of goodness as of pleasure. But how seldom hath the Church gained by ease, or lost by restraint! Bless you God for our prosperity; and we shall praise Him for your progress."

Hall would have an opportunity of talking the matter over with his friend in 1615, when Moulin, at the invitation of James, visited England, was made prebend of Canterbury (an honour bestowed upon his son also, who died there towards the end of the century), and received the degree of D.D. from the University of Cambridge. Whether the intimacy between Hall and Moulin began with the letter above quoted, or is to be referred to an earlier date, is not certain; but it continued long, and Hall was wont to speak of him as his "ancient friend,"

He died at the age of ninety, some eighteen months after Hall's decease.

We must now return to Hall and the Prince of Wales. How he was advancing in court favour, with what modesty he shrank from too rapid promotion, and how amid his letters of comfort, his intelligent interest in political events, and his battles for the truth, he did not forget his duties as a pastor, shall be told in his own words, and the story may be of value to some who are so idly busy in their own narrow range as to despise others of more method and greater energy, who *are* capable of looking after more than one iron at a time. Only one explanatory remark is needed—that the twenty-four chaplains were required to be in attendance, two at a time, for the space of a month.

“In the second year of mine attendance on his Highness when I came for my dismissal from that monthly service, it pleased the prince to command me a longer stay ; and, at last, upon mine allowed departure, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Challoner, his governour, to tender unto me a motion of more honour and favour than I was worthy of : which was, that it was his Highness' pleasure and purpose, to have me continually resident at the court as a constant attendant, while the rest held on their wonted vicissitudes : for which purpose his Highness would obtain for me such preferments as should yield me full contentment. I returned my humblest thanks, and my readiness to sacrifice myself to the service of so gracious a master ; but, being conscious to myself of my unanswerableness to so great expectation, and loth to forsake so dear and noble a patron who had placed much of his heart upon me, I did modestly put it off, and held close to my Waltham, where, in a constant course, I preached a long time, as I had done also at Halsted before, thrice in the week ; yet never durst I climb

into the pulpit to preach any sermon, whereof I had not before, in my poor and plain fashion, penned every word in the same order, wherein I hoped to deliver it ; although, in the expression, I listed not to be a slave to syllables."

In 1609 he preached the Passion Sermon at Paul's Cross on Good Friday. There is a pleasing candour in the preface to the published edition of it. He says he did not desire to make any apology for publishing ; it was motive enough to aim at a more public and more enduring good. "Spiritual niceness is the next degree to unfaithfulness." The drift of the discourse is contained in the words— "The Church of Rome so fixes herself, in her adoration, upon the Cross of Christ, as if she forgot His glory : many of us so conceive of Him glorious, that we neglect the meditation of His Cross, the way to His glory and ours." In 1611 and 1612 he preached before the court two sermons upon Zech. xiv. 20 :—" *In that day shall be written upon the bridles (or belts) of the horses, Holiness unto the Lord ; and the pots of the Lord's house shall be like the bowls before the altar.*" These are interesting examples of his style at this time. The Separatists and the Romanists alike were severely handled. As for the former, if any man was disposed to make himself sport, he should read the tragi-comical relation of the troubles and excommunication of the English at Amsterdam ; for the latter, no play book was more ridiculous than their Pontifical and Book of Holy Ceremonies. War seemed to be imminent. Against Agrippa, the Anabaptists, Erasmus, Ferus (Wild), he maintains the legality of war in general, if only it be *pro lege et grege*, for religion, for the commonwealth, and have two directors, Justice and

Charity. While acknowledging the difference between a preacher and a herald, and claiming the title *evangelisans pacem*, he dared say that, if in the cause of God and His Church that war should be undertaken, Holiness should be written upon their horses' bridles. He pleaded for the royal intervention in the unhappy divisions of the Church, enforced the dignity of the priesthood, and called heaven and earth to witness whether any nation in the world could show so learned, so glorious a clergy. "But yet, among so many pots of the Temple, it is no marvel if some be dry for want of liquor; others, rusty for want of use; others, full of liquor without meat; others, so full of meat that they want liquor. Let the Lord's Anointed, Whose example and encouragements have raised even this Divine learning to this excellent perfection, by His gracious countenance dispel contempt from the professors of it, and by His effectual endeavours remove the causes of this contempt." The profligate character of the court of James I., perhaps not outdone even by that of Charles II., is well known, and it did not escape the lash. "It were happy," said Hall, "if the court were free, and as it receives more sweet influences of favour than all other places, so that it returned back more fragrant obedience; that, as it is said of Mary's spikenard wherewith she anointed Christ, that the *whole house was filled with the savour of the ointment*, so the whole world might be full of the pleasant perfumes of virtuous example that might arise from thence. But, alas! the painted faces, and manishness, and monstrous disguisedness, of the one sex; the factious hollowness, prodigal garishness, wanton pampering, excess in our respect

to ourselves, defects in our respects to God, in the other ; argue too well, that too many of us savour more of the golden sockets of the holy lights, than the bowls of the altar."

In the autumn of 1612 Hall dedicated to Prince Henry the first part of his "Contemplations," which, now begun, were not completed until he had been some time Bishop of Exeter. He himself tells us that they were the quintessence of sermons reduced to the form of meditations. A sorrowful interest attaches to the first volume—it was the last book ever dedicated to the Prince, and the last that was turned over by his hand. On November 6th Henry, in whom so many hopes were centred, the darling of one party, the possible dread of another, the favourite of historians, and, in spite of some faults, the ornament of his station, and the pride of his country, suddenly died. So sudden was his decline that there was some suspicion of poison, happily unfounded. The funeral was one of great pomp and solemnity. Hall was present, and on New Year's Day 1623 performed the mournful task of preaching to the household of St. James's on the occasion of their disbanding. The sermon, full of pathos, of tender and restrained emotion, shows that Hall's affection for his young master was as sincere as the prince's regard for his chaplain. No one can read it without almost melting into tears. Towards the end he said :—

"We are all now parting one from another ; and now is loosing a knot of the most loving and entire fellowship, that ever met in the court of any prince. Our sweet master, that was compounded of all loveliness, infused this gracious harmony into our hearts. Now we are saluting our last ;

and every one is, with sorrow enough, taking his own way. How safe, how happy shall we be, if each of us have God to go with him ! Certainly, my dear fellows, we shall never complain of the want of masters, of friends, while we find ourselves sure of Him ; nothing can make us miserable, while we are furnished with Him. . . . He shall counsel us in our doubts, direct us in our resolutions, dispose of us in our estate, cheer us in our distresses, prosper us in our lives, and in our deaths crown us. . . . What if we shall meet here no more ? What if we shall no more see one another's face ? Brethren, we shall once meet together above, we shall once see the glorious face of God, and never look off again. Let it not overgrieve us to leave these tabernacles of stone, since we must shortly lay down these tabernacles of clay, and enter into tabernacles, *not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*. Till then, farewell, my dear brethren, farewell in the Lord. Go in peace, and live as those that have lost such a master, and as those that serve a Master Whom they cannot lose, and the God of Peace go with you, and prosper you in all your ways."

On the night of the prince's decease a rainbow was seen, or said to be seen, over St. James's. The season was inclement, and sickness had swept away thousands. The king did not simulate a grief which he did not feel, and the court was not even put into mourning. The minds of the courtiers were turning to a more joyous event, the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick, Elector Palatine, which was shortly afterwards celebrated, in the following February. Oxford, with traditional loyalty, had expressed its sympathy on Monday, December 7th, with a "solemn obsequy," a sermon and funeral oration at St. Mary's, and the like in the afternoon at Christ Church, both places being hung with black. "A book of Latin elegies and funeral

verses" had also been set forth. But Hall's own University had not been so forward, though some verses had been privately distributed. All this will account for the tone of the two elegies with which he commemorated the loss of the prince. The first, "Upon the unseasonable times that have followed the unseasonable death of my Sweet Master, Prince Henry," was this :—

" Fond Vulgar, canst thou think it strange to find
 So *watery* winter and so wasteful *wind* ?
 What other face could Nature's age become,
 In looking on great Henry's hearse and tomb ?
 The world's whole frame his part in mourning bears ;
 The *winds* are sighs ; the *rain* is Heaven's tears ;
 And if these tears be ripe, and sighs be strong,
 Such sighs, such tears to these sad times belong.
 These show'rs have drown'd all hearts ; these sighs did
 make
 The Church, the world, with griefs, with fears to shake.
 Weep on, ye Heav'ns, and sigh as ye begon,
 Men's sighs and tears are slight, and quickly done."

The second, "Of the rainbow, that was reported to be seen in the night, over St. James's, before the Prince's death ; and of the unseasonable winter since," ran thus :—

" Was ever nightly rainbow seen ?
 Did ever winter mourn in green ?
 Had that long bow been bent by day,
 'T had chased all our cloud away ;
 But now that it by night appears,
 It tells the deluge of our tears.
 No marvel rainbows shine by night,
 When suns ere noon do lose their light.
 Iris was wont to be, of old,
 Heav'n's messenger to earthly mould ;
 And now she came to bring us down
 Sad news of Henry's better crown.



And as the Eastern star did tell
The Persian sages of that cell,
Where Sion's King was born and lay,
And over that same house did stay ;
So did that western bow descry
Where Henry, prince of men, should die.
Lo ! there this arch of heavenly state
Rais'd to the triumph of his fate ;
Yet rais'd in dark of night, to show
His glory should be with our woe.
And now, for that men's mourning weed
Reports a grief not felt indeed ;
The winter weeps and moans indeed,
Though clothed in a summer weed."



CHAPTER VIII.

*HALL AND CHURCH DEFENCE.—LIFE AT WALTHAM.
—VISIT TO PARIS.—DEAN OF WORCESTER.*

SOME three or four years previous to the date at which we have arrived, Hall, preaching at Paul's Cross, had spoken of sacrilegious patrons, the merchants of souls, the pirates of the Church, the enemies of religion, and, contrasting them with the Pharisees of old, had said, "They tithed all, you nothing ; they paid to their Levites, your Levites must pay to you ; your cures must be purchased, your tithes abated, or compounded for. If ever thou be the fatter for this gravel, or the richer with that thou stealest from God, let me come to beg at thy door. Woe to you, spiritual robbers ! Our blind forefathers clothed the Church, you despoil it ; their ignorant devotion shall rise in judgment against your ravening covetousness. If robbery, simony, perjury will not carry you to hell, hope still you may be saved." This fierceness was not the mere rhetorical affectation of the pulpit. The speaker had himself smarted from the rapacity of his patron, and had known the worrying care of supporting a wife and family on the verge of poverty. Nor was he a solitary instance. The condition of the clergy was distressing. Little more than seventy years had passed since the Church had



fallen among thieves, and her wounds were still bleeding from the treatment she then received. Again and again she had been pillaged. Elizabeth, with her many virtues, lacked one,—a just regard for ecclesiastical property. Archbishop Bancroft had brought in a Bill to succour the suffering clergy, but in 1611 Abbot, whose knowledge of clerical work did not extend beyond what he could acquire by residence within the walls of a college, and whose sympathies had had no training except in a long and fruitless squabble with Laud, had been appointed to the primacy. His chief concern was to foster Puritanism; for the contemptible and degraded lot of those who were doing the Church's work he cared little, or not at all. The spectacle was indeed a bitter one. Rich and powerful laymen, founding noble families and maintaining their state with the spoils of the Church, were everywhere to be seen, while the ministry had "scarce enough to feed them and keep them warm;" the country parson might not expect anything better for his boys than to apprentice them to a trade; the great men's chaplains were a little better paid than the cook and butler. Not to be sheepish in a good cause was one of Hall's maxims. A good cause now presented itself, and the sequel will show that the man was well adapted to apply the maxim. On other occasions he may perhaps seem to have been somewhat too pliant, on this he exhibited a firmness and a tenacity of purpose which does him infinite credit.

The deanery of Wolverhampton dates from 996. Edward II. granted to it, with many of his free chapels, exemption from all ordinary jurisdiction, as well as many other privileges. In 1479 Edward IV.

annexed the College of Wolverhampton to the Chapel of Windsor, so that the dean of St. George's at Windsor should be dean of Wolverhampton, and prebendary of the first of its eight prebends, which grant was confirmed by Act of Parliament. At the dissolution of the monasteries the ancient Church of St. Mary, or as since the time of Henry III. it had been called, the Church of St. Peter, was allowed to retain its collegiate character, but its lands having been seized by Edward VI. in the second year of his reign, were granted in 1553 to the Duke of Northumberland, who destroyed the images of the saints to whom the different chantries, chapels, and guilds were dedicated, removed the high altar just erected at great expense, and took formal possession of the emoluments.* Queen Mary restored the College to its former rank, but its property, excepting a mere pittance, was in lay hands, and in 1555, by the marriage of Thomas Leveson with Mary, the daughter of Robert Broke, it devolved upon the Leveson family. Three years after this Sir Richard Leveson, by a chancery suit, established his title, and the Church lands were now leased out for lives in smaller parcels. The deanery had been again annexed to Windsor by Queen Mary, and Elizabeth had confirmed the annexation, but in the eighth year of James I. Giles Thompson, then dean, granted to Sir Walter Leveson the deanery and all lands belonging thereto in the counties of Stafford and Worcester, and all mines, etc., at an annual rent of £38, and an entertainment for the dean and his retinue two days and three nights in a year. The lessee, however,

**Vide* Dr. Oliver's "Collegiate Church of Wolverhampton."

refusing to pay his rent without considerable deductions, the validity of the lease was questioned, and it was now that Hall, at the request of his cousin, determined to do battle. The bill in chancery was filed by him as prebendary of Willenhall, and Christopher Cragg, prebendary of Hatterton, in the thirteenth year of James I. One other remark, and then Hall shall tell the story of his long and weary suit, carried on for years, and at last issuing in the recovery of the lost property. He speaks of a *supposed concealment*. The reader will perhaps allow me to remind him that when Church lands were given to the Crown, some were here and there privily detained and held by private persons, or corporations, or churches. Queen Elizabeth, coming to understand this, appointed a commission to search after these concealments. It is to the possibility of such an inquiry that Hall refers when he speaks of a third dog taking the bone from the other two.

“My worthy kinsman, Mr. Samuel Burton, Archdeacon of Gloucester, knowing in how good terms I stood at court, and pitying the miserable condition of his native church of Wolverhampton, was very desirous to engage me in so difficult and noble a service as the redemption of that captivated church. For which cause he importuned me to move some of my friends to solicit the Dean of Windsor, who by an Ancient Annexation is patron thereof, for the grant of a particular prebend, when it should fall vacant in that church. Answer was returned me, that it was fore-promised to one of my fellow-chaplains. I sat down without further expectation. Some year or two after, hearing that it was become void, and meeting with that fellow-chaplain of mine, I wished him much joy of the prebend. He asked me if it were void. I assured him so; and, telling

him of the former answer, delivered to me in my ignorance of his engagement, wished him to hasten his possession of it. He delayed not. When he came to the Dean of Windsor (Anthony Maxey, 1612-1618) for his promised dispatch, the Dean brought him forth a letter from the Prince, wherein he was desired and charged to reverse his former engagement, since that other chaplain was otherwise provided for, and to cast that favour upon me. I was sent for, who least thought of it; and received the free collation of that poor dignity. It was not the value of the place, which was but nineteen nobles per annum, that we aimed at; but the freedom of a goodly church, consisting of a dean and eight prebendaries competently endowed, and many thousand souls lamentably swallowed up by wilful recusants, in a pretended fee-farm for ever. O God, what a hand hadst Thou in the carriage of this work! When we set foot in this suit (for another of the prebendaries joined with me) we knew not wherein to insist, nor where to ground a complaint: only we knew that a goodly patrimony was, by a sacrilegious conveyance, detained from the church. But, in the pursuit of it, such marvellous light opened itself unexpectedly to us, *in revealing of a counterfeit seal, found in the ashes of that burned house, of a false register, in the manifestation of rasures and interpolations, and misdates of unjustifiable evidences*; that, after many years' suit, the wise and honourable Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, upon a full hearing, adjudged these two sued-for prebends clearly to be returned to the church, until, by Common Law, they could if possibly, be revicted. Our great adversary, Sir Walter Leveson,* finding it but loss

* The Levesons, as is well known, were the ancestors of the present Dukes of Sutherland, and had long had great local influence, having acquired much wealth by trading in wool. In 1544 a Sir Walter Leveson, giving away what did not belong to him, had presented St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, with choir stalls, taken from the dissolved monastery of Lilleshall.

and trouble to struggle for litigious sheaves, came off to a peaceable composition with me of forty pounds per annum for my part, whereof ten should be to the discharge of my stall in that church, till the suit should by course of Common Law be determined. We agreed upon fair wars. The cause was heard at the King's Bench Bar, where a special verdict was given for us. Upon the death of my partner in the suit, in whose name it had now been brought, it was renewed; a jury was empannelled in the county; the foreman, who had vowed he would carry it for Sir Walter Leveson howsoever, was, before the day, stricken mad, and so continued. We proceeded with the same success we formerly had. While we were thus striving, a word fell from my adversary that gave me intimation, that a third dog would perhaps come in and take the bone from us both, which I, finding to drive at a supposed concealment, happily prevented. For I presently addressed myself to his Majesty with a petition for renewing the charter of that church, and the full establishment of the laws, rights, liberties thereto belonging, which I easily obtained from those gracious hands. Now Sir Walter Leveson, seeing the patrimony of the church so fast and safely settled, and misdoubting what issue these his crazy evidences would find at the Common Law, began to incline to offers of peace; and at last drew him so far, as that he yielded to those two main conditions, not particularly for myself, but for the whole body of all those prebends which pertained to the church:—first, that he would be content to cast up that fee-farm which he had of all the patrimony of that church, and disclaiming it, receive that which he held of the said church by lease from us the several prebendaries for term, whether of years, or, which he rather desired, of lives; secondly, that he would raise the maintenance of every prebend (whereof some were but forty shillings, others three pounds, others four, etc.) to the yearly value of thirty pounds to each man during the said term of his lease; only, for a monument of my labour and success

herein, I required that my prebend might have the addition of ten pounds per annum above the rest. We were busily treating of this happy match for that poor church ; Sir Walter Leveson was not only willing, but forward ; the then Dean, Mr. Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato (of whom more hereafter), gave both way and furtherance to the despatch ; all had been most happily ended, had not the scrupulousness of one or two of the number deferred so advantageous a conclusion.

“In the meanwhile Sir Walter Leveson dies, leaves his young orphan ward to the King. All our hopes were now blown up ; an office was found of all those lands, the very wonted payments were denied, and I called into the Court of Wards, in fair likelihood to forego my former hold and yielded possession. But there it was justly awarded by the Lord Treasurer, then Master of the Wards, that the orphan could have no more, no other right than the father. I was therefore left in my former state ; only, upon public complaint of the hard condition wherein the orphan was left, I suffered myself to be over-entreated, to abate somewhat of that evicted composition ; which work having once firmly settled, in a just pity of the mean provision, if not the destitution of so many thousand souls, and a desire and care to have them comfortably provided for in the future, I resigned up the said prebend to a worthy preacher, Mr. Lee, who should constantly reside there, and painfully instruct that great and long-neglected people, which he hath hitherto performed with great mutual contentment and happy success.”

In 1846 the collegiate establishment ceased to exist, and its property was vested in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners ; the deanery is suppressed, the township is divided into thirteen parishes, St. Peter's being a rectory, the rest vicarages. But the memory of Hall's good work still lives, and has



been perpetuated by the thoughtful care of Archdeacon Iles, a former rector of St. Peter's, who has placed a Minton tile tablet in the wall of the north aisle of that church. Through the kindness of the present rector, the Rev. J. T. Jeffcock, I am in possession of the inscription, which is as follows :—



In memory of Joseph Hall, D.D., Bishop of Norwich, Prebendary in 1612 of this church, Restorer of its freedom and patrimony, and careful Shepherd of "its great and long-neglected people." Born 1574, died 1656.

The eve of the Annunciation 1613, being the anniversary of the accession of James to the throne, was observed with much rejoicing in London. The bells were ringing, bonfires were blazing in the streets, feasting was universal. It fell to Hall to preach at St. Paul's Cross the sermon called a Holy Panegyric in commemoration of the event. The sermon was not, indeed, as the author said it should not be, altogether laudatory, but there is much laudation in it, and even adulation. Queen Elizabeth was at some length brought under review, and Prince Henry, too, received his meed of praise, but of course the king was the chief object of eulogy. The preacher told his hearers that when the mourners, standing round Henry's deathbed, lamented their wickedness as the cause of their sorrow, the dying prince, with Christian modesty, replied, "No, no, I have sins enough of my own to do this." Of Elizabeth, Hall said many pleasant things, and, upon the whole, his words did not belie the truth, though, remembering that two hun-

1613 | dred Roman Catholics are estimated to have been put to death in her reign, some would no doubt dispute the "sweetness of her government." His retrospect of our relations to the papacy during Elizabeth's reign is noteworthy. A few years afterwards he would not have ventured so to speak ; but the Spanish faction had not yet become so important as it afterwards was, and political considerations had not yet made it expedient for James to seek a match for his son in the family of the pope's chief royal supporter. Hall, at this time, could safely, without wounding any susceptibilities, dilate upon Rome's malignant attacks on England, and upon England's successful resistance to Rome.

Pope Clement might call Elizabeth a wretched woman, but Hall considered her the mother of the nation, the nurse of the Church, the glory of womanhood, the envy and example of foreign nations, the wonder of times, by the virtues proper to her sex the queen of women, and by the masculine graces of learning, valour, wisdom, the queen of men, so learned that she could give answers to ambassadors in their own tongue, so valiant that her name, like Zisca's drum, made the proudest Romanists to quake, so wise that whatever fell out happily against the common adversary in France, the Netherlands, Ireland, was by themselves ascribed to her policy. Pius V. might launch his bull of excommunication against her, and, now that she was dead, her enemies might put her into their processions, like a tormented ghost, attended with fiends and firebrands, but she had never been so prosperous as when she was cursed, and he doubted not her glory in heaven was as much



greater as was their malice. He vividly depicted the gloomy anticipations which prevailed as to her death: "Every one pointed to her white hairs and said, When this snow melts, there will be a flood." No day, except always the 5th of November, was like to be so bloody as the day she died. Lots were cast upon our land, and Parsons had even drawn up a programme for the direction of affairs, when England should have passed into the hands of the Romanists.

How far Hall's eulogy was adulation, and whether he was at heart an absolutist, I have attempted to show in a separate chapter. It will therefore be unnecessary to touch upon the subject here, at the best a painful one to a biographer. In the interest, however, of historical truth, Hall's estimate of the character of James, as viewed by the light of his acts, almost contemporary, must be questioned. This sermon was preached on March 24th, 1613, and amongst other virtues, one put conspicuously in the front is the king's mercy, which, it is hinted, might be thought to be even excessive. "I pray God the measure of this virtue may never hurt himself; I am sure the want of it shall never give cause of complaint to his adversaries." Again, Hall congratulates himself and his hearers on the happy state of things existing, and the peaceful immunity from persecution then said to be enjoyed. "Here hath been no dragging out of houses, no hiding of Bibles, no creeping into woods, no Bonnering or butchering of God's saints, no rotting in dungeons, no casting of infants out of the mother's belly into the mother's flames; nothing but God's truth abundantly preached, cheerfully professed, encouraged, rewarded." Had

Hall forgotten that on March 18th, in the previous year, one Bartholomew Legate was burned in Smithfield for heresy? His crime was that in reading the Bible he had not kept close to orthodoxy, and had tried to influence others in the same direction. The king had argued with him before the Consistory Court of St. Paul's in the presence of a great assemblage, and finding him resolute in his resistance had spurned him with his foot before leaving him to his fate. Subsequently the king directed letters to the Lord Chancellor to issue a writ *de heretico comburendo*. Had Hall forgotten that within a month of Legate's murder another victim, for the same offence, had been burned at Lichfield? Did he not know that, as Fuller says, the novelty and hideousness of the punishment had roused the indignation of the people? Did he really not understand the character of the king? whose delight was cock-fighting and baiting bulls and bears, and who has been declared by a recent historian to have been incapable of pity; not too harsh a sentence when we think of Raleigh, fifteen years a prisoner, and then executed because he had not brought any gold from Guiana, and had quarrelled with the Spaniards. The truth appears to be that Hall, though he approved the death of Servetus, did not approve of the death of these men, or he would have said so; but that, conscious of the obloquy his royal master had incurred, he draws a contrast between the terrible days of persecution, passed away with their countless victims, and the comparative blessedness of his own day, when solitary executions stirred men's wrath and pity. His words must thus, I think, be regarded, not as a justification of the king's conduct, but as an apology for it; not

altogether satisfactory, it must be admitted, but perhaps as truthful as most men could or would make it, under similar circumstances.

Of Hall's home-life at Waltham we have a valuable account in a letter to his patron, which, though it may be somewhat ideal (and who quite lives up to his ideal?), was yet no doubt in the life of one so methodical and devout very largely put into practice. We are thus enabled to come very close to the man himself, and by being in his company in the study, at the fireside, and in the parish, to see for ourselves what manner of man he was. The date of the letter was probably some time in 1612.

"Let me tell your Lordship how I would pass my days, whether common or sacred, that you, or whosoever others overhearing me, may either approve my thriftiness, or correct my errors. To whom is the account of my hours either more dear or more known?

"All days are His who gave time a beginning and continuance; yet some He hath made ours, not to command but to use. In none may we forget Him; in some we must forget all besides Him. First, therefore, I desire to awake at those hours, not when I will but when I must; pleasure is not a fit rule for rest but health; neither do I consult so much with the sun as mine own necessity, whether of body, or in that of the mind. If this vassal could well serve me waking it should never sleep; but now it must be pleased that it may be serviceable.

"Now, when sleep is rather driven away than leaves me, I would ever awake with God. My first thoughts are for Him who hath made the night for rest and the day for travel, and as He gives so blesses both. If my heart be early seasoned with His presence, it will savour of Him all day after. While my body is dressing, not with an effeminate

curiosity, nor yet with rude neglect, my mind addresses itself to her ensuing task, bethinking what is to be done, and in what order, and marshalling, as it may, my hours with my work.

“That done, after some while meditation, I walk up to my masters and companions, my books ; and, sitting down amongst them with the best contentment, I dare not reach forth my hand to salute any of them till I have first looked up to heaven and craved favour of Him to whom all my studies are duly referred, without whom I can neither profit nor labour. After this, out of no over-great variety, I call forth those which may best fit my occasions ; wherein I am not too scrupulous of age ; sometimes I put myself to school to one of those ancients whom the Church hath honoured with the name of Fathers, whose volumes I confess not to open without a secret reverence of their holiness and gravity ; sometimes to those latter Doctors which want nothing but age to make them classical ; always to God’s Book. That day is lost whereof some hours are not improved in those Divine monuments ; others I turn over out of choice, these out of duty.

“Ere I can have sat into weariness, my family having now overcome all household distractions, invite me to our common devotions, not without some short preparation. These heartily performed, send me up with a more strong and cheerful appetite to my former work, which I find made easy to me by intermission and variety.

“Now, therefore, can I deceive the hours with change of pleasures, that is of labours. One while mine eyes are busied, another while my hand ; and sometimes my mind takes the burden from them both, wherein I would imitate the skilfullest cooks, which make the best dishes with manifold mixtures. One hour is spent in textual divinity, another in controversy ; histories relieve them both. Now, when the mind is weary of other labours, it begins to undertake her own ; sometimes it meditates and winds up for future use ; sometimes it lays forth her conceits into



present discourse, sometimes for itself, often for others. Neither know I whether it works or plays in these thoughts. I am sure no sport hath more pleasure, no work more use. Only the decay of a weak body makes me think these delights insensibly laborious.

“Thus could I, all day, as singers use, make myself music with changes, and complain sooner of the day for shortness, than of the business for toil, were it not that this faint monitor interrupts me still in the midst of my busy pleasures, and enforces me both to respite and repast. I must yield to both; while my body and mind are joined together in their unequal couples, the better must follow the weaker. Before my meals, therefore, and after, I let myself loose from all thoughts, and now would forget that I ever studied. A full mind takes away the body’s appetite, no less than a full body makes a dull and unwieldy mind. Company, discourse, recreations, are now seasonable and welcome.

“These prepare me for a diet not gluttonous, but medicinal; the palate may not be pleased but the stomach; nor that for its own sake. Neither would I think any of these comforts worth respect in themselves, but in their use, in their end, so far as they may enable me to better things. If I see any dish to tempt my palate, I fear a serpent in that apple, and would please myself in a wilful denial. I rise capable of more, not desirous. Not now immediately from my trencher to my book, but after some intermission. Moderate speed is a sure help to all proceedings, where those things which are prosecuted with violence of endeavour or desire, either succeed not, or continue not. After my latter meal my thoughts are slight, only my memory may be charged with her task of recalling what was committed to her custody in the day, and my heart is busy in examining my hands and mouth, and all other senses, of that day’s behaviour.

“And now the evening is come, no tradesman doth more carefully take in his wares, clear his shopboard, and shut his windows, than I would shut up my thoughts and clear my mind. That student shall live miserably which, like a

camel, lies down under his burden. All this done, calling together my family, we end the day with God. Thus do we rather drive away the time before us, than follow it.

"Such are my common days. But God's day calls for another respect. The same sun arises on this day and enlightens it; yet, because that Sun of Righteousness arose upon it, and gave a new life unto the world in it, and drew the strength of God's moral precept into it, therefore do we justly sing with the Psalmist, *This is the day which the Lord hath made*. Now, I forget the world, and in a sort myself, and deal with my wonted thoughts, as great men use, who at some times of their privacy forbid the access of all suitors. Prayer, meditation, reading, hearing, preaching, singing, good conference, are the business of this day; which I dare not bestow on any other work or pleasure, but heavenly. I hate superstition on the one side, and looseness on the other; but I find it hard to offend in too much devotion, easy in profaneness. The whole week is sanctified by this day; and according to my care of this is my blessing on the rest."

From Waltham and its daily round let us now turn to a very different scene. During the twenty-two years he spent at Waltham, Hall was three times commanded and employed abroad by His Majesty in public service. The first of these was in 1616, when his friend the Earl of Carlisle, now Viscount Doncaster, went on his embassy to France. Hall was in attendance, and relates with enthusiasm the entertainment the embassy met with. While in France he was seized with a "*Diarrhæa biliosa*," which threatened severe dysentery, and was brought so low that there seemed small hope of his recovery. Peter Moulin visited him often during his illness, and offered, in case he could not venture on the home journey with the rest of the embassy, to take him



under his own roof. Hall's power of winning men's love was remarkable, and it is easy to understand how Viscount Doncaster on hearing of his sad condition was "much afflicted" thereat, well supposing that his welcome to Waltham without the Rector would not be hearty. Moulin's generous offer was declined, and Hall resolved, if he could but creep homewards, to put himself upon the journey. "A litter was provided, but of so little ease that Simeon's penitential lodging, or a malefactor's stocks, had been less penal." Down to that had he crawled from his chamber, and Moulin writing afterwards said he seemed to be put into his coffin. Thus he would have journeyed in misery from Paris to Dieppe, with no other company than the surly muleteers, had he not been so fortunate as to reach St. Germain's at the very minute the ambassador's coaches were setting out. He gladly changed his seat and his company, and, beyond all expectation, began to gather some strength, whether from the fresh air or the desire of home. Taking ship at Dieppe, he and his fellow-travellers, after being a night and nearly a day at sea, were compelled to put back to "that bleak haven" whence they set forth, and go by land along the coast of Normandy and Picardy, as we already know—a much more pleasant mode of locomotion to one at least of the party. At length Hall was again at his beloved Waltham, but the complaint had come with him, and continued to afflict him for some time after his return.

In his absence he had not been forgotten, the king having conferred upon him the Deanery of Worcester, which had been promised to him before he left England, but was nearly lost through

the "importunity and underhand working of some great ones." Who these were, Hall does not say, but as Dr. Field, the Dean of Gloucester, was his rival, it is probable that Sir Thomas Egerton, whose chaplain Field was, may have been among them. At all events, Field thought his chance so good that he had taken steps for furnishing the new Deanery. Hall with rare charity speaks of his opponent as "learned and worthy, reverend and better-deserving," and says he was "well satisfied with better hopes, and soon after exchanged this mortal estate for an immortal and glorious." Field died (November 15th, 1616) before the year was ended, just as he was about to be nominated to the see of Oxford.



CHAPTER IX.

*HALL AND ABSOLUTISM.**

WE have now reached a stage in the history of Hall's life at which it may be convenient to take a review of his attitude towards the Absolutism of his day. The pernicious doctrine that the Monarchy of England is absolute was not the sudden outburst of political passion, nor the growth of a few years. It may be said to date from the time when Parliament, partly in return for the very liberal grants of Church property to distinguished individuals, partly in the almost inevitable excesses of a great national crisis, gave to the proclamations of Henry the force of law, and allowed him the privilege of appointing his successor to the throne.

* Professor Masson ("Life of Milton," vol. ii., p. 123) accuses Hall of "toadying Laud in secret," and of writing "disagreeable private letters of information to Laud respecting nests of sectaries in London whom it would be well to extirpate," and further adds: "My distinct impression is that in his conduct generally, and even in his writings, when carefully examined, there will be found a meaner element than our literary dilettanti and antiquaries have been able to discern in so celebrated a bishop." So great a writer as Mr. Masson surely ought not to bring a degrading charge without supporting it. How far Hall was guilty of toadying Laud, the reader will have an opportunity of judging further on. The word appears to me very much too strong. As to the sectaries, Hall said nothing in private that he did not say over

Under Elizabeth a notion prevailed that, arising out of the very conception of sovereignty, there appertained to the Crown a paramount authority analogous to that of the Roman Dictators. It was, however, little more than a notion, an inference from a theory of government rather than a rule of action, an argumentative weapon to be produced in certain cases of expediency, or, veiled in ambiguous language, a piece of flattery well calculated to impress the mind of royalty, rather than an insult to the liberties of the people. It was reserved for James I. and his abettors to give distinct expression to the tenet.

Some years before his accession to the throne of England, James, in his "True Law of Free Monarchies," had laid down the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and, no doubt with much self-satisfaction, had established the duty of passive obedience. Presbyterianism had given him so much pain that Episcopacy was an anodyne, and his two sayings, "*A Deo rex, a rege lex*," and "No Bishop, no King," so frequently heard at the Hampton Court Conference, must have been peculiarly

and over again in public. In the House of Lords he drew attention to "no fewer than fourscore congregations of several sectaries in London and the suburbs and liberties," and in his sermons and other writings there are repeated suggestions for dealing vigorously with them. As to the element of meanness "in his conduct generally, and even in his writings," if it be to be found anywhere, it will be in his relations to absolutism, and *perhaps* in an occasional artificial handling of texts for controversial purposes. I venture to think, however, that did Mr. Masson possess a more intimate knowledge of Hall, even his admiration for the Bishop would be no less than my own. In a career so long and active, and full of such varied experience, the harmonies of eighty years could hardly fail to be associated with some discords.

pleasant in the ears of both himself and of the pillars of the Church. Overall's Convocation Book, in 1606, and Cowell's Interpreter or Law Dictionary, published about the same time, vied with one another in setting the king above the law, and in the latter it was held to be "incontrollable, that the King of England is an absolute king." This most dangerous Interpreter was suppressed ; but it was not so easy to stamp out the opinion interpreted. In 1616 the king, speaking in the Star-chamber, compared the "presumption and high contempt" of a subject in "disputing what a king can do," or in saying that "a king cannot do this or that," with the atheism and blasphemy of those who dispute what God can do ; and intimated that good Christians and good subjects both content themselves with the revealed will. Up to this time James was more Calvinistic than anything else. From the Synod of Dort (1618) onwards, he inclined to Arminianism, and listened to the suggestions of Laud. Whatever may be the explanation, there can be no doubt that Laud, if a vigorous defender of the rights of the Church, was an equally vigorous assailant of the constitution, and however deep the feelings of gratitude with which loyal Churchmen must regard one who had the courage of his convictions even unto death, no true patriot can approve a policy subversive in the long run of the very truth which it is part of the Church's work to inculcate. He never ceased to sanction, even to stimulate, Charles in that evil course which cost one monarch his head and another his throne. In 1626 he issued his paper to the clergy, urging them to contribute to the forced loan which the exigencies of the court demanded,

It is a paper of singular ability, sufficiently general perhaps to avoid attack, sufficiently suggestive to make known the imperative wishes of the king and the Archbishop, and to secure the end in view. Then comes his patronage of Sibthorp and Mainwaring, one of whom for his treason against his countrymen was rewarded with a bishopric, the other with comfortable preferment. From 1629 through the next eleven years absolutism had free way. In 1640 its helplessness was evident; before 1649 a bloody war and the final tragedy had proved that liberty in this country was something more than a name.

One feature, amid the changing scenes of the times intervening between the accession of Elizabeth and the outbreak of the civil war, is uniformly constant,—the extravagant and fulsome adulation lavished on the Sovereign. In Elizabeth's time the bishops were treated with rudeness and contempt; their opinion was little heeded; they were the servants of the Crown, expected to perform their duty uncomplainingly, and liable to be "unfrocked" at the will and pleasure of the new head of the Church. The flatterers in her reign were mainly the courtiers, whose courtesy was measured by the honey of their tongues and pens. Under James the bishops were not a whit behind the rest. The new-found sense of their dignity, with gratitude to him who was the source of it, and a keen insight into the weaknesses of the learned pedant, with perhaps a genuine appreciation of his ability and attainments, by no means inconsiderable, all combined to make them vie with one another in a servility as ludicrous as it was excessive. Hall is no exception to the rule, and we can hardly expect that he would be. From

his boyhood he must have been accustomed to the feeling of dependence, and have been early initiated in the mysteries of the science by which the favour of the great was to be secured. His father, it will be remembered, was agent to the powerful Earl of Huntingdon, who more than once at his princely home had entertained royalty with regal splendour. He himself had been indebted to aristocratic influence for the first steps in his ecclesiastical promotion. Providence had made him chaplain to the heir to the throne. It would have been more than human for a man so situate to keep clear of the prevailing vice, and so to regulate his utterances as neither to offend against prudence on the one hand, nor decency on the other. That Hall had thought out the matter, and had tracked for himself an ideal course, is certain from his "Letter to the Gentlemen of the Court."

"The courtier's alphabet," he says, "is his prince's disposition, which, once learned, he plies with diligent service, not with flattery ; not commending every action as good, nor the best too much, and in presence." Again, "He never speaks but mere truth, what princes' ears are not always accustomed to : yet that, tempered for the measure and time, with honest discretion." No one could profess a deeper abhorrence of flattery than he did—"I would the flattery of a prince were treason ; in effect it is so, for the flatterer is a kind murderer. I would it were so in punishment." Some years afterwards he describes flatterers as the "most harmful of all tame beasts." From another point of view they are "serpents, that swell up the soul with a plausible poison, that kill a man laughing and sleeping ; dogs that worry their masters ; vultures that feed on the

eyes, on the hearts, of the great: Hell is a fitter place for them than Christian courts." The sermon in which this passage occurs was preached to His Majesty, and is therefore fairly open to the suspicion of being not only highly rhetorical, but perhaps something more. Still it would be uncharitable and unjust to accuse Hall of hypocrisy. Nor would it be candid to excuse him on the ground of the somewhat weak distinction he draws between praise in absence and praise to the face:—"A small praise to the face may be adulation, though it be within bounds: a great praise in absence may be but justice." The former clause is undoubtedly true; so is the latter, but the very question is whether the "great praise" so unsparingly applied was just. Upon the whole it would seem correct to say that he set before him in a perilous position a manly and a noble ideal, but that circumstances proved too strong for him, and that he failed to escape the snares by which so many of his ablest contemporaries were caught.

It is positively startling, after his earnest disavowals, to read the account he gives not only of Elizabeth, of whose queenly virtues, apart from some womanly failings, it would be hard to say anything too highly eulogistic, or of Charles I., whose "temperance, chastity, piety, mercy, and justice" are, with some slight qualification, generally acknowledged, but also of James I., who certainly was not the acme of perfection. How does Hall describe him? As our "Samson, a king higher than other princes by the head and shoulders, who in learning and knowledge exceedeth all his one hundred and five predecessors. His entire acquaintance with all sciences, and with the queen of all,



Divinity, is such that he might well dispute with the infallible Pope Paulus Quintus for his triple crown ; no king ever moderated the solemn acts of a university in all professions, and had so many hands clapped in the applause of his occult and learned determinations ; all Christian princes rejoice to follow him as their worthy leader in all the battles of God ; he is an incomparable divine for a prince, yea, a prince of divines, a king of men, and a wonder of kings, mighty both in his sceptre and his pen ; like Noah's dove, he alone brought an olive of peace to the tossed ark of Christendom ; like another Augustus, he has becalmed the world and shut the iron gates of war." An elaborate parallel is drawn between him and Constantine, and though "Constantine built churches, one in Jerusalem, another in Nicomedia, King James hath founded one college (the College for Controversy at Chelsea) which shall help to build and confirm the whole Church of God upon earth ;" when James is no more, he is "our late Augustus."

After this, Hall's declaration that monarchy is the best of governments, and likest to His rule that sits in the assembly of Gods, will sound only mild ; but his tone changed with the advance of years, and his language becomes that of the most vehement favourer of absolutism. Cæsar, he tells us, is Christ's deputy ; he holds his crown and sceptre as in fee from the God of heaven ; God hath ordained it immediately ; he is God's anointed and vicegerent. Bellarmine's words, "in which he traced the authority of kings to the will of the people, *potestas principis dimanavit a populo*," but which express equally well the position of Hooker

and Locke,* he rejects with scorn, as well fitting the pretensions of the Pope to be from God, and so above all earthly powers. The king is "the head of the body, the eye in the head, the ball in that eye, without which the whole state, like Polyphemus, must reel, and stagger, and grovel. Take away the monarchy, earth would be hell."

In 1634 the attempt was made to levy ship-money on the inland towns, and in the early part of that year Hall preached before the court. Absolutism may be said to have nearly reached its climax, and the sermon is very valuable as showing not merely the Bishop's personal opinions, but how far a representative of moderate and popular feeling was compelled to go, and with what measure of freedom he could express his opposition to the prevailing currents. In it is found at once the clearest condemnation of the preacher and his best vindication. His text was taken from Psalm cxliv. 3, 4:—"Lord, what is man, that Thou takest knowledge of him; or the Son of Man, that Thou makest account of him?" etc. He admits absolute sovereignty, based upon the estimation in which God holds kings. "Homage, obedience, tribute, prayers, lives are due from us to God's vicegerents. There are nations of whom God may say, *Dedi eis regem in ira: even such yet must have all these duties.* But when the influences of sovereignty are sweet and gentle, *sicut ros super herbam*, we cannot too much pour out ourselves into gratitude to God for them, to them under God. Even so, O Thou God of kings, still and ever double this knowledge

* Hooker, "Ecc. Pol.," bk. i., ch. x., 4; Locke, "Civil Government," sec. 240.

and dear account of Thine upon that Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen, anointed, ordained, protected to be the great instrument of our peace and Thy glory." If sentence were to go upon the preceding, judgment without mercy would probably be meted out to Hall. But no one can read the sermon without being convinced that his acquiescence in the ruling mode of thought at the court was more verbal than real. He is evidently impressed with the gravity of the crisis, and strives so to present the doctrine he felt bound to accept as to strip it of the deadly consequences he feared it must entail. Man's littleness is the key to his exposition, and how hazardous he felt his theme to be is evidenced by almost the first words he addressed to his audience. "No blacks, nor soul bells, nor death's heads on our rings, nor funeral sermons, nor tombs, nor epitaphs, can fix our hearts enough upon our frail and miserable condition. And, if any man have condescended to see his face in the true looking-glass of his wretched frailty, so soon as his back is turned he forgets his shape straight; especially at a court, where outward glory would seem to shoulder out the thoughts of poor, despicable mortality. Give me leave, therefore, honourable and beloved, to ring my own knell in your ears this day; and to call home your eyes a little; and to show you that which I fear you too seldom see yourselves." He proceeds to prove that David, though an absolute sovereign, was himself in humble subjection to the God of kings; he had not subdued his people if God had not subdued them for him; the great conquerors of worlds could not conquer hearts, if

He, that moulded hearts, did not temper them ; the vain pride of man befools him and carries him away to ridiculous affectations ; the man after God's own heart was in another vein ; when he looks downward, he sees the people crouching under him, and confesses his own just predominancy ; but, when he looks either upward to God, or inward to himself, he says, *Lord, what is man ?* "Set this pattern before you, ye great ones, whom God hath raised to the height of worldly honour. Oh, be ye as humble as ye are great ; the more high you are in others' eyes, be so much more lowly in your own ; as knowing that he was no less than a king that said, *Lord, what is man ?*" Who besides Hall would have had the address, or the courage, thus to speak before the court of Charles ? To say less would have been to exclude himself from being numbered among the advocates of a particular theory of government ; to go further than he did in the opposite direction would have been to incur the imputation of antagonism to the court. Absolutism with him was only the expression of the ideal obedience of the subject, and regulated in accordance with his suggestions would have been almost harmless. Had Laud possessed but a fraction of the moderation of the man whom he three times brought upon his knees, of his wisdom, foresight, knowledge of men, adaptability to circumstance, reluctance to push a theory into action, and to purchase for the Church a temporary advantage at the price of lasting misery to the nation, perhaps the battles of the rebellion would never have been fought ; Laud might have died in his bed, and his master have secured both crown and life.



CHAPTER X.

*THE "QUO VADIS?"—HALL ACCOMPANIES KING
JAMES TO SCOTLAND.—STUDIES RITUAL.*

HALL had now attained in the Deanery of Worcester a position of which any man might be proud, and he had won it for the most part by hard work, pulpit eloquence, and literary ability. No doubt he had judiciously used the advantages he possessed in his royal and noble patrons; but it must be remembered that he made these advantages before he used them, and that compared with the barefaced adulation, disgraceful jobbery, and abject grovelling which were to so many at this time the high road to preferment, the dedicatory praise he bestowed upon his patrons was only the just recognition of their merit, and his gentle flattery no more than courteous tact. The sickness which in France had so nearly brought his career to a premature close still continued, and prevented his going down to Worcester to take possession of his new dignity. He therefore stayed at Waltham, which living he still held together with the Deanery. The reader will probably be somewhat shocked to find Hall a pluralist. The conscience of Churchmen, however, was not so accurate in this respect then as it is now. The Puritans indeed for years past had protested and objected, but ineffectually. It was

urged that the large number of benefices (in 1584 about 18,000), and the small number of competent men to fill them, rendered pluralities almost an absolute necessity. The very case of a dean holding a benefice was contemplated and provided for by the Canons of 1604.

It was probably about this time, while waiting for recovery, that Hall recorded those impressions of his two visits to the Continent which we have in the "*Quo Vadis? A Censure of Travel.*" On the former occasion we found him retiring to the hills above the Spa of Ardenne and giving himself up to meditation; on the latter, while others were enjoying the noble courtesies of the time, his thoughts were entertaining themselves with tasting that ordinary travel which had become so general; both times, "as thinking himself worthy of nothing but neglect, he bent his eyes upon others to see what they did, what they got." His inquiry "found our spiritual loss so palpable, that his heart could not chuse but break forth at his hand, and tell his countrymen of the dangerous issue of their curiosity." He had no intention of condemning the journeys undertaken for the mineral waters of the Spa, if there were a *bonâ fide* cause. How could he, having been himself indebted to them? But he tells us that many sick souls were beholden to them for a good excuse, and while pretending the medicinal use of the spring, freely quaffed of the puddle of Popish superstition, poisoning the better part instead of helping the worse. These he would leave to the best physician, Authority, which, if it would undertake the cure, might perhaps save as many English souls from infection as that water cured bodies of disease. His

purpose was to deal with those who sought in travel a culture which, it was imagined, was not to be got at home, too many of whom he had seen lose their hopes and themselves in the way, returning empty of grace and other virtues, as full of words, vanity, misdispositions. His views will no doubt seem narrow and his strictures severe in these days, when all who can look for recreation, or health, or the gratification of intelligent curiosity in a visit to the Continent. But once more I must beg my readers to bear in mind that two hundred and seventy years ago the dangers to body and soul of a traveller were far greater than they are now. Foreign hotel-keepers had not learnt to cater for English tastes; and religious malice, baffled in 1605, was busy avenging itself in 1617. Popish recusants were numerous, Spanish influence was in the ascendant; some of the best of our youth were being perverted, and a lover of the Anglican Church, however liberal his opinions and enlightened his views, could not fail to be full of anxious forebodings.

Hall admits two legitimate occasions of travel, commerce and matters of state. For the former, a ship of merchants is the good housewife of the commonwealth; he only bids our merchants take heed lest they go so far that they leave God behind them, and while they buy all other things cheap, make an ill match for their souls; lest they end their prosperous adventures in the shipwreck of a good conscience. As for matters of policy, he was certainly no advocate of a blind-and-deaf confidence which prostrates a nation to the mercy of a hollow friendship. Eyes and ears of state he thought necessary to the well-being of the head. The

appetite for news was evidently then as keen as now, though not so readily satisfied, and "private interlopers of intelligence were lying abroad only to feed some vain chameleons at home with the air of news, for no other purpose save idle discourse." These were neither eyes nor ears. Our author's censure was not aimed at either of the two occasions aforesaid, but his quarrel was with the travel of curiosity, the inconveniences whereof he had himself so sufficiently witnessed that our gentry, he said, could they have borrowed his eyes for the time, would have learnt to keep their sons at home. The root of the mischief seemed to be an affectation of too early ripeness, which led parents to send their children forth to the world at too tender an age, like fond mothers who were wont to send forth their daughters early in cold and foggy mornings to gain a colour, and while they strove for this lost their health. Too much speed was the great evil of the time. Lapwings, going from under the wing of their dam with the shell on their heads, were running wild at the Universities and Inns of Law. Or if this were not so, precocity of understanding was taking the place of age and stature, and it was commonly seen that these rathe-ripe wits, like February blossoms nipped with an April frost, after an empty wonder at their haste, ended either in shame or obscurity. How much more dangerous was it to send forth children into places whose very goodness was either impiety or superstition. On his late journey into France he had come upon some ordinary factors of Rome, one of whom, whose name he noted, had been observed to carry over from England six popish novices to be educated beyond the seas. The world was wide

and open, and yet the ordinary travel of Englishmen was southward into the jaws of danger, and the parts alone thought worth viewing were most contagious. What plea could there be for such confidence, save that even in the most corrupted air of popery some well-reformed Christians drew their breath, and sweetened it with their respiration? These would have been more numerous if authority had followed the Church of England, and had wisely allowed a correspondence in some things with the Church of Rome. God was his record, how free his heart was both from partiality and prejudice. He had found among the Catholics some who approved of and applauded the liturgy of our Church, newly translated, and who marvelled to see such order and devotion in those whom they were taught to condemn as heretical. These, he thought, might with a little help have been brought to allow not only our practice, but some points also of our judgment. The old praise of early rising, that it made a man healthful, holy, and rich, could not be given to early travel. The difference of diet and of drinks, especially at so tender an age, must needs cause a jar in the constitution, and affect the whole course of the ensuing life. As for holiness, set an empty pitcher to the fire, it cracks presently, whereas the full will abide boiling. The eye of the parent and the ferule of the master were all too little to bring our sons to good. How should their condition be other than hopeless abroad? Lastly, for riches, that is, not of the purse, but of the mind, the wealth of a young traveller was only in his tongue, wherein he exceeded his mother's parrot at home, both for that he could speak more, and knew that he spoke.



There was in fact too much haste everywhere,—haste in matrimony, haste in professions. But suppose the traveller to have attained a mature age. Does he travel to please his fancy? He is like a woman with child, who longs for what she sees upon another's trencher, and swoons if she miss it; or some squire of dames, that doats upon every beauty, and is every day love-sick anew. Does he travel to improve his understanding? Setting aside the study of civil law, which could indeed be better pursued abroad, all sciences might be more fitly wooed and more surely won within our four seas. The greatest foreign masters had been at least equalled by our home-bred islanders. Our universities had no equals in all the world. Other nations had applauded no professors more than those which they borrowed from us, and we had not lent our best. No nation under heaven so abounded with every variety of learning as this island! From the head of God's anointed the sweet perfume distilled to the utmost skirts of our region. Why then go abroad for education? So far from perfecting our gentry, travel robbed them of the very desire of perfection. They went where learning was held to be a shame to nobility, an opinion so savouring of proud ignorance and ignorant looseness, that Hall could not honour it with a confutation. Charlemagne declared that he would rather abound in knowledge than in wealth; but a successor of his, Louis XI., advised his son to learn no more Latin than *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit vivere*, as though the art of arts, the government of men, did not require something more than dissimulation or ignorance, and at least as much skill as the feeding of hogs or sheep.

Hall at one time, out of hearsay, wrote in praise of the French education. What he then said he was willing now to recant, and was prepared to maintain that few of the foreign nobles were studious in comparison of ours, and those few were ashamed of their virtue. The pen of our Gracious Sovereign had raised brave trophies and rich monuments of himself, and when ignorance and malice should have shot their bolt, posterity would be more affected by his wisdom and knowledge than by his greatness—a prophecy which has certainly come true. Such an example could not fail to be beneficial, and was in marked contrast with the conduct of doctors of the Roman Church, whose policy it had been to cherish a dislike of bookishness in the great; for while the candle was out, it was safe for them to play their tricks in the dark. But perhaps our traveller was not aiming at the learning of the School, but of the State. If so, he would perhaps talk with a peasant, or a pilgrim, or a citizen, or a courtier, and must needs take such information as rumour or weak conjecture could give him. If he would stay at home, and travel into some learned and credible author who had measured many a foul step for that which his readers might see dry-shod, and worn out many years in the search of that which one hour would make no less theirs than his, he would be better profited. Does he travel that he may be able to talk? If he wishes to be like a mill without a sluice, let him travel through the world of books, and he shall be able to out-talk that tongue whose feet have walked the furthest. We need not stir our feet to learn to tell either loud lies, or large truths. A bird in a cage may sing more change of notes than

some wild ones in the wood. And if a man wished to know what was going on in the world around him, ears abroad were not a whit more credible than eyes at home. The world was so full of printing-presses, and was grown so good a fellow, that it was willing to tell its neighbours what it knew, and the news of France or Spain might be oftentimes better heard and seen upon our Exchange than at Paris or Madrid. What would Hall say if he could return for a few days to this world, with its daily papers, its telegraphs, and multitudinous publications? Seeing then that travel cannot furnish the mind better than staying at home, if it has an advantage, it must be in what he calls the mixed abilities, such as dancing, fencing, music, vaulting, horsemanship, the only professions of the misnamed academies of other nations. Such exercises he fully admits are fit for young gentlemen, but, after all, they are only the varnish on the picture of gentry, and though such skill might be worth purchase, yet it might be bought too dear, and perhaps need not be fetched so far. No mean masters had told him that England had yielded some in all those faculties which need not stoop to the proudest foreigner. For want of work and encouragement, our country had no such multitude of masters; still, if the fault were not in ourselves, one candle might light a thousand. Hall was fond of the horse, and his illustration is taken from its training. He tells us that as it was the strength and pride of France, so it won the hearts and heels of that nation, whose greatest teachers and ablest trainers had bequeathed their written directions to posterity. There were two distinct branches of training, one for service (by which

presumably is meant not that of the commoner breeds for the cultivation of the land, or draught purposes, but of the nobler kinds, for riding, hunting, or war); another for pleasure. In the first our English masters thought they could not yield unto the best; in the latter they allowed themselves surpassed; but Hall contemptuously says that many men had taught their dog the same tricks with no less contentment. He thought it invidious to name any foreign artists who had honoured this island with their abode, but ventured to say that a more bountiful patronage would secure a more abundant supply. Now, to take the other side, suppose it to be necessary to fetch all our water from the well of another nation, and add to the apparent gain already mentioned a few compliments and mimical courtesies which an ordinary traveller would acquire, what would be the price paid? At least a danger of corrupting his religion, and depraving his manners. Those who travelled were mostly of the middle rank, and therefore either followers of the great or commanders of the meaner sort; and themselves acquiring in their wanderings a lukewarm indifference, diffused this easy temper into those above and those beneath them.

In some the mischief was hid with a formal profession; in others it broke forth into open revolt. Hall could remember many who, with Dinah, had gone forth to gaze and had lost their spiritual chastity. Many he had known, like the brook Cedron, run from Jerusalem and end their course in the Dead Sea. No Pharisee was ever so eager to make a proselyte as our late factors at Rome. No man could set foot upon the coast of France who

could not presently sing with the Psalmist, *They come about me like bees*. Pyrrhus did not more envy the valour of the old Roman soldiers, than English divines did the audacity of the new. Their importunity was evident at home. No bulwark of laws, no bars of justice (though made of three trees) could keep our rebanished fugitives from returning, from intermeddling. There was not a state not haunted with Jesuit spirits, not a house, not a soul. Not a prince's council-table, not a lady's chamber could be free from their insinuations. And they were all the more dangerous because they were not rude and boisterous like other sects, so as, like cannon shot, to be more easily shunned than resisted, but were men of a pleasing sweetness, and relied more on policy than strength. No gentleman of note could cross our seas, but his name would anticipate his person, and be landed first in the Jesuit books. Like hawks after their prey, at first they were wont to look and fly quite the other way, would make no mention of religion, merely commend themselves as persons of sweet ingenuity and delightful sociability. Little by little the stranger was caught in the snare. Hall had been informed that some among them resorted to magical delusions and devilish incantations rather than want a client. Hence it was that miraculous apparitions, if at least they were anything but fancy or fraud, proceeded. Seeing how familiarly conjuration was professed in the Roman Church, and that the best casuists found it hard to clearly distinguish between their sacred magic and the diabolical, this could not seem strange. Still he would not dare to peremptorily accuse, but would rather leave these practices to further inquiry. One thing was too

easy to observe, that as our English Papists are commonly most Jesuitish, so our English Jesuits were more furious than their fellows. Even those of the hottest climates could not match them in fiery dispositions. Why then put ourselves out of the comfortable sunshine into the midst of the flame of those noted incendiaries? How far Hall was just in his condemnation of Roman piety, and how far he was blinded by prejudice while doubtless thoroughly sincere, and anxious only to faithfully record his impressions, I have elsewhere briefly pointed out. It will probably be admitted that, however this may be, his treatment of the Jesuits is not a whit too severe. Their detailed history, as attested by contemporary records, and related at such an interval of time as to admit of a fair view and faithful estimate of their work, fully corroborates the justness of Hall's conclusions, and testifies to the accuracy of his observation and the penetration of his mind. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the fervour and enthusiasm which had won for the order thirteen provinces before its founder in 1556 breathed his last, was again bursting forth in varied forms not only in Europe, but throughout the east. In 1609 Father Nobili had already converted seventy Brahmins, and before long was surrounded with a host of converts. In 1610 Father Geronimo, at the court of Akbar, now dead, baptized three princes of the blood-royal, who rode to church on white elephants, with the sound of trumpets, kettledrums, and martial music. In 1621 a college was founded in Agra, and a station was established at Patna. In 1605 a Society of the Virgin was established in Peking, and in 1610 Father Ricci died, worn out as

much by his strict conformity to Chinese society, with its burdensome etiquette, as by his untiring labours. In 1611 the first church in Nankin was consecrated, and in 1616 Christian churches were to be found in five different provinces of the empire. In 1619 these pioneers in China were empowered by the Pope himself to make concessions to the heathen opinions prevailing around them, and every year thousands were converted. In 1606 died Father Valignano, who himself had been the founder of three hundred churches and thirty houses for Jesuits in Japan ; and in 1612, the re-action having set in, began the fearful persecution to which they and all Christians were subjected in that country, and in spite of which, in the nineteen years between 1603 and 1622, as many as close upon 240,000 Japanese are said to have been converted. The Nestorians of India could not escape their vigilance, but partly by force, partly by persuasion, the chief among them were won, and in 1601 a Jesuit was nominated as their Bishop. The Roman ritual appeared in Chaldaic, and a college was soon founded in Cranganor. In 1603 Father Paez arrived in Abyssinia, preached in the language of the country, gained access to the court, and set on foot that series of systematic efforts which culminated in 1622, when Gregory XV. appointed Doctor Alfonso Mendez, a Portuguese Jesuit, patriarch of Ethiopia, and the emperor submitted to the Pope. The Greek Christians, too, of the Turkish empire were assailed with mission after mission. In 1614 a Nestorian Archimandrite abjured in Rome the errors of Nestorius in the name of large numbers who had held the doctrines. A mission was established in Constanti-

nople, and in 1621 the Jesuit Fathers were so influential as to be able to procure the removal of the patriarch Cyril Lucar, who favoured the Protestants. With this amazing activity on the part of the enemy in the old world and in the new (for at the beginning of the seventeenth century the Jesuits had in South America five archbishoprics, twenty-seven bishoprics, four hundred monasteries, and "Doctrinas" innumerable, magnificent cathedrals, seminaries, and universities), it is no wonder that Hall should be unable to refrain from admiration at their energy, skill, and address, or on the other hand should shrink from exposing youth to the peril of such seduction. It is hard to keep ourselves from joining him in his admiration, and adding moreover our thanks to the Order for their great services to the cause of civilisation; but had we lived in Hall's day, and seen what he saw, known what he knew, and felt as he felt, our censures might have been as keen as his, our indignation as great, our charity less.

So far the danger to the traveller of corruption in judgment; there remains the danger from depravation of manners. Bad enough we might be at home; certainly we were worse for the mischief borrowed from our neighbours. From abroad came, says Hall, the dresses of his day, only constant in their mutability. Towards the gentler sex he is almost unmerciful. They made antics and monsters of themselves, their hips reached to the shoulders, and their breasts to the navel, and who set the fashion but the ill-shaped dames of France, and the worse-minded courtesans of Italy? There they learned the use of apothecary's mortar, and

washes cunningly licked on, of frizzled and powdered bushes, as if they were ashamed of the head of God's making, and proud of the tire-woman's. Thence too had come the practice of duelling, wherein men were taught the ambition of being glorious butchers of men, the luxurious delicacy of our feasts, the forms of ceremonious quaffing, in which men made gods of others and beasts of themselves, unbridled chatter, practical Machiavelism, the slight account of the social vice condemned as venial and tolerated as necessary, formal compliments, which neither expect belief from others, nor carry any from ourselves, sodomy, which, though burnt with fire and brimstone from heaven, had yet revived, atheism secretly laughing God in the face, the tragical science of king-killing, and the new divinity of disobedience and rebellion, and many other not enumerated evils. The author concludes by asking that the dangerous liberty of travel should be more strictly restrained, and the regulations respecting conversation or conference with Jesuits, or other dangerous persons, and passing into the dominions of the king's enemies, which were so commonly neglected that the prohibition seemed intended only to teach men what to do, should be more rigorously enforced. It was useless to shut the wicket upon factious fugitives, and make their return to these shores a capital crime, if the postern were open to us that we might go to them.

I have ventured to summarise at greater length than usual the contents of this little treatise, because it puts us in possession of Hall's views upon so many of the subjects hotly discussed at the

time it was written, and so vividly depicts some of the leading features of the society in which he moved, and with which he was surrounded. It is thus a valuable monograph on the social history of our country at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We must now accompany Hall to Scotland, and try to discover his mind on the great controversies which agitated that country at the same period.

When James came to England in 1603, he promised to visit Scotland every three years; but thirteen years had passed and he had not yet done so. He had now a "longing to see the place of his breeding, a salmon-like instinct," and notwithstanding some dissuasion determined to gratify his wish. Matters of high policy were mingled with motives of pleasure—he had resolved, if possible, to settle the ecclesiastical affairs of his native land, and in some measure to repair the havoc of the Reformation, which had left behind it not the orderly outcome of sober reason, but the confusion bred of popular tumult, the desolation of the hurricane and the whirlwind. Ninety years had passed since Patrick Hamilton's devotion to Luther was tested with fire, seventy years since George Wishart had been barbarously put to death, and Cardinal Beaton in retaliation had been assassinated. Then John Knox like a firebrand had inflamed the religious and political sympathies of his countrymen. Patriotism, Protestantism, and fanaticism side by side went forth to utterly destroy all that savoured of foreign domination, or seemed to link Scotland to the hated Church of Rome. Almost miraculously the leading dogmas of Christianity were

preserved, but the organization of long centuries was swept away, the ritual usages consecrated by the lives of thousands were abolished, episcopacy was destroyed, the Church robbed of her patrimony, sacred buildings razed to the ground, in that "holy furor of piety." Knox and those associated with him saw in the surplice, corner-cap, and tippet the badges of idolaters and the dregs of the Romish beast. Who was he that ought not to fear either to take in his hand, or on his forehead, the prints and marks of that odious Beast? All higher degrees had been abolished, degrees in theology given up as tending to popery and superstition. In 1572 the ancient titles of archbishop and bishop were restored, but within twenty years Presbyterianism was established upon a Parliamentary sanction. The last hope of the Mediævalists had in fact died with the hapless Queen of Scots in 1587.

James in his younger days, "before he had any down upon his chin, and whilst he was under the ferule," had cried down the festivals of the Church, and in a certain speech had applauded the purity of the Church of Scotland above that of Geneva, because it did not observe the common feasts of the nativity, the resurrection, etc. He had also said that our service was "an evil said mass in English," and that we wanted "nothing of the mass but the liftings." With age had come more wisdom, and one of the main purposes of his journey into Scotland was to bring about a conformity to the rest of Christendom in the observation of the solemn days, Christmas Day, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. Other points which

2 he had at heart were the private administration of
3 Holy Baptism and Holy Communion, kneeling at
4 the Eucharist, Confirmation by Bishops, and the
5 introduction of the English liturgy. The way was
already prepared to a considerable extent. In 1606
the temporalities had been restored to the titular
bishops. On October 21st, 1610, Spottiswood, Arch-
bishop of Glasgow, Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and
Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, were consecrated in
/ the chapel of the Bishop of London, and episcopacy
had been thus restored. On July 29th, 1616, the
principals of the three colleges of St. Andrew's and
some other ministers were made doctors of divinity,
Dr. Young, Dean of Winchester and chaplain to
the king, assisting. This, says Hall, was no inno-
vation, but a renovation, and what His Majesty had
done for the Schools he wished to do for the
Church.

Instructions having been sent to feed many cattle,
that there might be beef enough in the country when
the king came, His Majesty set out March 14th, 1617,
taking with him as far as Theobalds the Queen and
Prince Charles. Great care was exercised in the
selection of the chaplains, Bishop Andrews, Laud,
then Dean of Gloucester, and Hall being in attend-
ance. One of the preachers showed admirable judg-
ment and a fine sense of the fitness of things in
preaching from Gen. xiii. 2, 3, and a comparison
between Abraham and James, Bethel and Scotland,
could not fail to much affect the royal hearer. By
the way a stop was made at Lincoln, and from
here were dated the instructions, so suggestive of
the prevailing currents of thought, to negotiate a
marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta of

Spain. The espousals were to be made in Spain according to the order of the Council of Trent, the marriage to be solemnized in England according to our laws. In the beginning of May the king reached Berwick ; thence he went to the west of Scotland, and at last, on May 16th, re-entered Edinburgh. English carpenters had preceded him, and had been busy working in Holyrood Chapel. Organs had been disembarked at Leith ; gilded statues of the Evangelists and Apostles, intended it was said for the chapel, had been brought. The suspicions of the people were roused ; they fancied the mass was coming, and the bishops deemed it their duty to admonish the king. The very next day the Anglican service was begun in the Chapel Royal with surplices, choristers, and organs. On June 8th, being Whitsunday, the privy councillors, bishops, and nobles in Edinburgh were commanded to repair to Holyrood for communion. Many went, and Andrews preached. On June 28th the Parliament assembled, and the king showed his determination to put an end to General Assemblies. His position was—“The bishops must rule the ministers, and the king both, in things indifferent, and not repugnant to the word of God.” Edinburgh was full of ministers, and a protest was soon formulated. How intense was the feeling respecting the disputed point, and how acute the crisis, may be judged from the fact that when Hewat, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, went to the palace to present it, an altercation arose with Spottiswood, and in the struggle which ensued the copy was torn. James came out of his bedroom undressed to see what was going on, and, thoroughly angry and more than half frightened, expressed his

disapproval of protesting against his wishes. The ringleaders were deprived and cast into prison. Calderwood, the Scottish historian, was stripped of his ministry and banished the country.

We shall now be better able to understand Hall's part in these proceedings. In his "Specialities" we learn that he found great love and respect, both from the ministers and people, but no small envy from some of the English courtiers. Through the solicitation of Lord Carlisle he obtained permission to return home before the other chaplains. No sooner was he gone than suggestions were made to His Majesty of his "over plausible demeanour and doctrine to that already prejudicate people." Elsewhere he says that some captious hearers had taken hold of words, spoken in some sermon, that "sounded of too much indifferency in those businesses: *ubi bos herbam, vipera venenum* : as if he had opened a gap to a lawless freedom in teaching that no Church should prescribe to other, that each should sit peaceably down with her own fashions. He had not, however, said that one Church should not follow the good example of another, nor that there are not certain sacred observances which should be common to all Churches, nor that one king might not prescribe to two Churches, whereof he was head. Examples might move, authority might press the use of things indifferent but expedient, and he thought it odious to seem more holy than all others, or to seem wiser than our heads."

Upon the whole it is easy to discover Hall's attitude. His policy would doubtless be one of persuasion, commending authority, not of rude coercion and intemperate haste, frustrating the aims

of authority. His temper would be gentle, his language conciliatory, and those about the king, who possessed less delicacy of feeling, less knowledge of human nature, and less wisdom, would represent him as lukewarm on the one side, and too compliant on the other. No man could be more out of place than Hall at this time, attached to the court in Edinburgh. While, therefore, a commonly received supposition that the king would have no further use for his chaplains after his removal from Edinburgh may have occasioned his early departure, he would welcome the opportunity and rejoice to be again at Waltham with his books. Then again he had not yet been able to go down to see his new dignity at Worcester, and this may have partly determined him to return as soon as possible.

James upon his return, while acknowledging Hall's good service, called him to a "favourable and mild account," freely disclosing the information he had received, and finally expressing himself fully satisfied with the answer given. At the same time, His Majesty, having secret notice that a letter was coming to Hall from Mr. W. Struther concerning the five points detailed above, requested him to give a full reply, and to declare at large his judgment respecting the points in dispute. Struther was one of the preachers of Edinburgh. Hall addresses him as his worthily dear friend, and speaks of his wise moderation in those matters, of his earnest professions that, if he were in the Church of England, such was his indifference in these indifferent matters, he would make no scruple of our ceremonies, of his sharp censures of those refractory spirits amongst us who would forego their stations rather than yield to

those harmless impositions, of his learned and zealous invective against the miserable spoliation of the Church. But he was *not* in the Church of England, and there is no necessary inconsistency between Hall's account of him and that given by Heylin, who says that the king was scarce settled in Edinburgh before in the chief church Struther not only condemned the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, but prayed God to save Scotland from the same. This sermon was reported by Laud and others to the king, and thus perhaps arose the necessity for writing to Hall.

The letter speaks of the protest and other stirrs which happened after Hall's departure, tidings of which had already reached Waltham. Struther had been accused of favouring the zealot-party and of opposing the king's plans, and he now asked advice for himself and colleagues.

Hall was conscious that his reply was to be something more than the private expression of opinion between friends. He had to justify his own action, and to take such a position as was consistent with the dignity of the Church and the authority of the king. A crisis had come in his life. Bred in the school of Calvin, it was not to be supposed that he had given much systematic study to questions of rites and ceremonies. Now, however, before committing himself to writing, he investigated such matters thoroughly. "Let me profess to you seriously," he writes to Struther, "I did never so busily and intently study these ritual matters, as I have done since your letters called me unto this task. Since which time, I speak boldly, I made no spare, either of hours or papers. *Neque enim magna cxiliter, nec*

26. 0. 1.
seria perfunctorie, as I have learned of our Nazianzen : and besides, this, under one name, seemed a common cause ; and therefore too worthy of my care."

The study was not lost upon him. He emerged from it *as regards these matters* what would now be called a high churchman, with a breadth and tolerance which is simply amazing if we bear in mind his early training, and the marvellous prejudice which, in spite of all our nineteenth-century enlightenment, exists in the minds of so many against indifferent rites and ceremonies. Years afterwards, when Bishop of Norwich, he spoke of Christians who placed a kind of holiness in a slovenly neglect, and so ordered themselves as if they thought a hasty carelessness in God's services were most acceptable to Him, affected homely places for His worship, abandoned all magnificence and cost in the acts and appendages of their devotion, better pleased with clay and sticks than marble and cedars, whose dresses made no difference of festivals, who stumbled into God's house without care or show of reverence, and came to the heavenly banquet with full paunches. He complained that the early Christians thought nothing good enough for God Almighty ; his contemporaries thought nothing too mean, and affected nothing but homeliness and beggary in Divine service. He looked back to the great state and deep expense wherewith God was served under the law, and asked if it was to be thought the same God was now of quite other diet than formerly. Was it all mere ceremony ? or was there not so much morality in it that the possessor of heaven should be served with the best ? There was such a thing as cynical Christianity, which affected beggary and nastiness, and

placed a kind of merit in sticks and clay, in rags and patches and slovenery, a higgling with the Almighty, and a base niggardliness to pinch Him in the allowances to His service. Why is Hall thoughtlessly and ignorantly sometimes called a Puritan? He certainly was not one when he penned such burning words, and his letter to Struther conclusively shows that he never had been. Would it not be well if men were to follow his example, and instead of squabbling over ritual study it?

It is perhaps needless to add that Hall amply vindicated the five points, afterwards known as the five articles of Perth, where they were agreed to, after much heartburning and occasional mean vindictiveness, in August 1618, though they did not receive the sanction of law until 1621. His reply was so well approved by James that it pleased the king to command a transcript of it to be publicly read in the university of St. Andrew's, "the effect whereof," says Hall, with almost silent modesty, "His Majesty vouchsafed to signify afterwards, unto some of my best friends, with allowance beyond my hopes."

CHAPTER XI.

*SERMON BEFORE THE CORPORATION OF LONDON.—
SYNOD OF DORT.—SICKNESS AND RETURN, ETC.*

ON Monday in Easter week of the next year (1618) Hall preached his Hospital Sermon, "The Righteous Mammon," before the Corporation of London. After the recent settlement of the Episcopacy in Scotland, it was natural that he should have something to say respecting the authority of bishops. In another place the passage is quoted at length ; it will, therefore, be sufficient to remark that the preacher most clearly and emphatically insisted upon episcopal government as the mark of the Church, and upon the necessity of the ministerial function for the giving and the support of spiritual life. "He that can save you without us will not save you but by us." "Let us never come to heaven, if you can come thither ordinarily without us." He spoke of the unparalleled number of learned divines our island had at that day. For the northern part of it, beyond the Tweed, where there were rather more than eight hundred congregations, he had not seen or heard of one without a preaching minister, and to the learning and ability of at least some of those teachers, whether prelates or presbyters, his own ears could testify. As for

England, as he considered the face of the Church in an universality, he seemed to see the firmament in a clear night bespangled with goodly stars of all magnitudes ; but partly through the incomparable multitude of cures, partly through the incompetent provision for some, some stars were like the little sparkles of the Milky Way, wherein scarce any light could be discerned. There was no city in the world, he thought, so rich in learned preachers as was London. Coming to the immediate subject of his text (1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19—"Charge them that are rich," etc.), he cleared Wickliff and others from the grievous charge of socialism, which had been fastened upon them, and by which they had suffered much wrong. They had been accused of teaching that as regards earthly possessions men had no tenure but grace, no title but charity. Doubtless, he said, this meant *in foro interiori*, in the consistory of God, not in the common-pleas of men; not in the courts of law, but of conscience, where only the civil owner might be a spiritual usurper, and the spiritual owner a civil beggar. It is clear that he would have had little sympathy with the crude Christian Socialism of our day, and the various schemes so zealously propagated for robbing Peter to pay Paul. In all probability he would have dismissed the apostles of this gospel of spoliation as he does the illuminate elders of Munster,—not worthy of confutation. He reminded his hearers that some of them were like the lions, elephants, and unicorns of the Lord Mayor's show, which had the appearance of a solid body, but if curiously looked into were found to be nothing but cloth, and sticks, and air. Others were like a dissembling convent, that professed poverty

and purchased lordships. One passage, which four- or five-and-twenty years afterwards in the Smectymnuan controversy became historical, I venture to put before my readers word for word. After speaking of the conceit of a little inheritance and of the lengths to which it transported the gallants of his time, so dressed that it would be hard to say whether they were antics in some carnival or children's puppets, he proceeded thus :—

“ Who can without indignation look upon the prodigies which this misimagination produces in that other sex, to the shame of their husbands, the scorn of religion, the damnation of their own souls? Imagine one of our forefathers were alive again, and should see one of these his gay daughters walk in Cheapside before him ; what do you think he would think it were? Here is nothing to be seen but a verdingale, a yellow ruff, and a periwig with perhaps some feathers waving in the top : three things for which he could not tell how to find a name. Sure, he could not but stand amazed, to think what new creature the times had yielded since he was a man ; and if then he should run before her, to see if by the fireside he might guess what it were, when his eyes should meet with a powdered frizzle, a painted hide shadowed with a fan not more painted, breasts displayed, and a loose lock erring wantonly over her shoulder betwixt a painted cloth and skin, how would he yet more bless himself to think what mixture in nature could be guilty of such a monster? ‘ Is this,’ thinks he, ‘ the flesh and blood? is this the hair? is this the shape of a woman? or hath nature repented of her work since my days, and begun a new frame?’ It is no marvel if their forefathers could not know them. God Himself that made them will never acknowledge that face He never made, the hair that He never made theirs, the body that is ashamed of the Maker, the soul that thus disguises the body.”

This vivid picture of Cheapside in the first quarter of the seventeenth century must have produced a powerful impression upon the fair dames for whom it was intended, and whom Hall reminds that no man will rough-cast a marble wall, but one of mud. The Smectymnuans, moreover, availed themselves of it, and said that the face and fabric of our Liturgy were so changed by additions and alterations, that it was now with it as with the disguised dames mentioned of old by Dr. Hall, so misshapen by their monstrous fashions that their redivived grandsires could not know them! We cannot tarry longer to enjoy the spiritual application of this admirable sermon; but as we have already been with Hall to the Spa, to France, and to Scotland, must now attend him in his journey to Holland, and see how he demeaned himself as one of England's representatives at the Synod of Dort.

The materials for the history of the synod are so accessible, and the history has already been so ably and fully written, that it will be unnecessary to do more than sketch so much of the outline as may suffice to enable us to understand Hall's position with respect to it. Calvinistic principles had been fixed in Holland by the Belgic Confession of 1562, and the organisation of the Church on the lines of Geneva had been accomplished eleven years afterwards. Calvinism, however, was not in undisputed possession of the ground. It has been shown by Heylin that book after book had been written, setting forth those views which afterwards bore the name of Arminius, so that it is not too much to say that Arminianism was already deeply rooted before Arminius was born (1561). He

himself, originally a Calvinist, had been led by reading the extravagant tenets of our English supralapsarian Perkins to juster views of the goodness and mercy of God, and from this time (1604) to the day of his death in 1610 did not fail to turn to good account the influence he enjoyed as professor of divinity at Leyden. Hall speaks of his acuteness, and judging by the success he had in winning over some of the ablest intellects of his country, by the unceasing and bitter persecution to which he was subjected, and the childish cruelty with which his opponents pursued him even in his last illness, he must have been victorious, had weapons of reason alone, and not of force, been put in action. His sufferings were interpreted as judgments. His left eye was dim. His rancorous enemies quoted Zech. xiv. 12 and xi. 17 against him. His name was Jacobus Arminius. They fashioned it into an epigram, and made him *vani orbis amicus*. But, unshaken to the last, he drew up a solemn confession within a few days of his death, in which, after commending his soul into the hands of God, he declared that he had very anxiously and scrupulously been on his guard not to propound or teach anything which he had not by diligent study found to be in strictest harmony with the Holy Scriptures, and declared that with the papacy there could be no unity of faith, no bond of piety or Christian peace. When we remember how the synodists of Dort vaunted themselves of their allegiance to Scripture, and how "Pelagianism and Popery," or "Arminianism and Popery," have been used as convenient phrases for hiding reckless assertion and for vilifying an opponent,

we cannot be too thankful for these death-bed utterances of one whose piety was above reproach. The death of Arminius was by no means the death of Arminianism. Episcopius through the press, Uytenbogaert in the pulpit, Hugo Grotius and Barneveldt by their political power, taught and defended his opinions. In 1610 Vorstius, a member of a Roman Catholic family converted to Protestantism, subsequently lecturer at Geneva and professor of Steinfurt, published a treatise on the attributes of God, and in the same year was called to succeed Arminius as professor of theology at Leyden.

With this book begins the connection of England with the theological strife of the Low Countries. King James, exceedingly displeased with the new appointment of the author, published a declaration against him, and further ordered the book to be burnt in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. "With what zeal did his Majesty fly upon the blasphemous novelties of Vorstius!" says Hall. Others, beside Hall, have justified the king's zeal, inasmuch as Vorstius appears to have denied the absolute perfection of the Divine attributes. Just at this time the Arminians, anticipating trouble, framed a solemn declaration of their tenets, and summarised their views under the heads of five articles, "five busy articles" Hall calls them: predestination, the extent of the efficacy of Christ's death, man's free-will and corruption, the manner of our conversion to God, perseverance. In 1611 a public conference was held at the Hague, and the Arminians, now known by the name of Remonstrants, as their opponents by that of Contraremonstrants, were deemed to have had much the better of the day. No concessions, however,

were made by either side, and the Calvinists, hoping to gain by power what they could not by argument, put themselves under the protection of Maurice, Prince of Orange. The Remonstrants, on the other hand, sought the protection of Barnevelt, who was a chief counsellor of State, and who hoped by means of their assistance to counterbalance the power of the prince. In 1613 he gained for his party an edict of toleration ; but this combination of theology and politics was fatal to the Arminians. Barnevelt was seized by Maurice, and, after a considerable interval, was beheaded in 1619. The Remonstrants were naturally dejected at the seizure of their champion ; the Contraremonstrants, elated at the removal of so able an adversary and animated by a desire for complete victory, were now anxious to refer their differences to a national council. To this posture of affairs we owe the Synod of Dort.

The synod being resolved upon by the States, foreign princes, and especially the English king, were invited to send representatives. After his vigorous onslaught upon Vorstius the royal gladiator could scarce do less than accede, had not his vanity and love of meddling been stimulus enough. What further motives had weight with him is matter of discussion. Heylin tells us some thought the king was persuaded by Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Montagu, others attributed his interference to his early Calvinistic education, or to an affection for the Prince of Orange, others to State reasons, to prevent a rupture with the Netherlands. Upon the whole, if we allow at least as much for political aims as for genuine regard to the interests of religious truth and unaffected hostility to Arminianism, we

shall perhaps have such a combination of motives as will best explain the cross currents which impede our progress towards a thorough understanding of the subject.

The representatives of England, chosen by the king, were Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, afterwards Bishop of Chichester ; Davenant, Margaret Professor of Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury ; Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton ; and lastly, Joseph Hall. Repairing to His Majesty at Newmarket they received their instructions respecting the synod. They were to practise themselves in Latin ; in all points to be debated to privately consult beforehand ; as far as possible to be unanimous ; to advise the Churches of Holland not to allow doctrines, fit to be the highest points of schools, to be commonly discussed in the pulpits, nor to use any doctrine in contradiction to their own confessions ; to conform to the confessions of the neighbouring Churches ; to endeavour to moderately lay down such positions as might tend to the mitigation of heat on both sides ; to have an eye to the honour of their Sovereign, and to consult the British ambassador ; to carry themselves with advice, moderation, and discretion. So ran their instructions. But one most important point must not be overlooked. It is affirmed that they were instructed to lay special emphasis upon the doctrine of universal redemption. If this be so, a support of rigid Calvinism could not possibly have come within the scope of the king's intentions.

Nor are other indications wanting which point in the same direction. At the Hampton Court Conference James showed his dislike of the Calvin-

istic view of predestination, and also resisted the attempt to embody the Lambeth articles in our "Articles of Religion." Then, again, in his discourse with Daniel Tilenus, the Arminian, who had accepted a temporary shelter in England, he spoke of the "infamous decree of the late synod (Dort), and the decision of that detestable formulary, by which the far greater part of the human race are condemned to hell for no other reason but the mere will of God, without any regard to sin; the necessity of sinning, as well as of being damned, being fastened on them by that great nail of the decree before mentioned." Further, in 1619, Dr. Hughson, Canon of Christ Church, and an open opponent of Calvinism, was made Bishop of Oxford; in 1621 Laud was made Bishop of St. David's. In the face of these facts we should not expect to find the representatives of this country thoroughgoing in their defence of Calvinism, nor consistently resolute in their opposition to Arminianism. Whatever their private opinions, they must, if faithful to their instructions, fly from Calvin and approximate to Arminius. But the truth is that, excepting Carleton, the position marked out for our divines was exactly that which they would voluntarily have chosen. Certainly, as we shall see, Hall himself was at least as far removed from rigid Calvinism as he was from some of the most extreme positions of Arminius, and shrank from its horrible decrees with as much aversion, or more, than he did from the errors of Pelagius. Of favouring the latter he was repeatedly accused; so far as I am aware, it has never been insinuated that he was a strict Calvinist. "Somewhat of a Calvinist," and a "moderate Augustinian," are

epithets which have been justly applied to him, and might be to many good Churchmen besides.

The four divines, missing the man-of-war which the States had sent to convey them over, crossed in a small vessel, and landed at Middleburgh, October 20th. On the 27th they reached the Hague, and were courteously entertained by the Prince of Orange. Thence they journeyed to Dort, where began on November 3rd the synod, which included 154 sessions, and ended May 9th, 1618. Towards the end of November over sixty Dutch divines, together with twenty-eight foreign coadjutors, were assembled at Dort, the latter having no vote in the decisions of the synod, though they were intended to assist in its deliberations. Fuller tells us that our representatives were allowed between them by the States ten pounds a day, a considerably larger sum than was given to others, and that, having this bountiful provision, they kept a table-general where any fashionable foreigner was courteously and plentifully entertained. The time would thus pass pleasantly enough; but the Arminians had not yet arrived, and the real business of the synod could not begin. To entertain the members with intellectual food, the President requested the foreigners to preach some Latin sermons, and first made application to the English. The Bishop of Llandaff refused on the ground of the sudden warning; with Davenant and Ward, he thought the proposal very inconvenient, and that, if carried into effect, it might prove dangerous, since it would be hard for the preacher to avoid giving offence to one party. Hall was just as eager as they were slow; he thought it a business very fit to be done, and was willing to undertake it. Accordingly

on November 29th, he preached, says Hales, a "polite and pathetic" sermon on Eccles. vi. 17. The same moderation and conciliatory spirit which we find everywhere in his controversial utterances is no less evident here, though perhaps in justice it ought to be said, something too of the inconsistency which invariably attends the earnest peacemaker is to be found as well. Amongst other things he said that those expositors of the Holy Scriptures were much to blame who were wont to stick so close to the very words and syllables, as if the Divine sense and meaning was not in the pith, but in the bark. He complained of a too great subtlety in controverted matters, and a too great liberty of prophesying or preaching upon all matters. St. Paul, if he could return to the world, would not be able to understand one word of the subtle divinity of the Jesuits and Dominicans. The catechism of the apostles consisted only of six articles; modern divinity was divisible into parts and smaller parts *ad infinitum*. Those divines who endeavoured to pry too closely into the judgments of God he compared to Pliny, a victim to his too great curiosity. The age was being undone, not by ignorance, but by too much knowledge. The children of the Church ought to lay in provision for their souls, but not to meddle with the subtleties and niceties of the schools. It was not right that predestination and kindred mysteries should be rashly handled even in the pulpit; much less ought every porter or waterman to boldly dispute about them. For a solution of the present difficulty he suggested that both sides should draw up, *fraternâ manu*, a short and clear paraphrase of Rom. ix., and present it to the synod. He

exhorted his hearers to adhere to the former confessions, and stated that this was an especial part of His Majesty's commission. In conclusion he asked what they had to do with the ill-omened names of Remonstrants, Contraremonstrants, Calvinists, Arminians. "We are Christians. We are one body ; let us be of one mind ! By the awful name of God, by the gentle bosom of our common Mother, by your souls, and by the sacred bowels of Jesus Christ our Saviour, brethren, I entreat you, be at peace. So lay aside all prejudice and party feeling, that we may be happily united in the enjoyment of the common truth."

Hall had followed his instructions, and had been an advocate for peace. Of course, it is hard to reconcile an adherence to "former confessions" with a due regard to the views of divines whose grievance was that those confessions were distortions of the truth. Perhaps Hall would admit the inconsistency, but would urge that, if it was his duty to labour for peace, it was no less his duty to follow the letter of his instructions. But the whole subject, as has been said, must be viewed in the light of the king's ulterior aims and secret communications. The sermon was well received, though some questioned the wisdom of disclosing so much of the English commission, and through the President Hall received the public thanks of the synod.* He had reason to be thankful that the affair was well over. For a fortnight previous he had been in an afflicted and languishing con-

* xxix. Novembris : ~~Die~~ Jovis ; ante meridiem.

"Habita fuit in Conventu Synodico a Reverendo et Clarissimo D. Josepho Hallo, Wigorniensis Decano, doctissima

dition, unable to get any sleep. "Yet it pleased God the very night before I was to preach the Latin sermon to the synod, to bestow upon me such a comfortable refreshing of sufficient sleep, as whereby my spirits were revived, and I was enabled with much vigour and vivacity to perform that service."

Before December 4th the Remonstrants were in Dort, but because they kept themselves private and did not present themselves to the States and deputies, no notice was taken of their arrival. The proceedings of the synod that day were interesting. Various matters were discussed, and the question was raised whether candidates, being trained for the ministry, should preach publicly, or baptize, or come to the consistories and meetings of the classes, or read the Scriptures publicly in the church before the people. That they should baptize was accounted unlawful by all. As to preaching, opinion was divided. Some defended it, chiefly on the ground that the "subrustic shamefastness" of many men would thereby be got rid of, and their fitness tested, provided always that such preaching was to be allowed only in case of the death, or absence, or sickness of the pastor, or of like necessity. It was replied that it was utterly unlawful for any to preach before they were admitted to the ministry; they had no mission; they had not the keys; it was admitted they could not baptize, why separate what Christ had joined together? Lydius, of South Holland, rejoined that such men might preach, and that

atque accuratissima exhortatio Latina, ex Eccles. Salomonis, c. vii. v. 16. Pro quâ publice ei gratiæ sunt actæ."—*Acta Synodi Dordrecht.*

they had vocation to do so, by the inward call of the Spirit, and by examination and admission by the classes, though they had no particular charge. Hales informs us that "for this good news did Mr. Dean of Worcester publicly applaud D. Lydius in the synod." Evidently the arguers had wandered far from the starting-point, but it is hard to believe that Hall, staunch defender as he was of episcopal government, would so stultify his position as to gratuitously give his support to Presbyterianism. In all probability he regarded the examination and admission by the classes of which Lydius spoke not as the door to the exercise of the ministry, but merely as a safeguard against absolute incapacity, and a temporary permission extended not to candidates trained, but in training. This view is borne out by the fact that the matter was finally left to the judgment and discretion of the particular classes. Two days after these events the armies came in sight of one another, and had some parley. The three Arminian envoys from Utrecht were admitted to the synod, and then learnt that neither they, nor any of their party, were asked to deliberate. They were *citati*, were expected to propose their opinions with their reasons, and leave it to the synod to decide. They, in fact, were, as the issue proved, on their trial, and the synod was the judge! Four days passed, and Balcanquhall arrived, sent over by James as the representative of Scotland. His coming spoiled the symmetry of the assembly, a little seat had to be made for him under the English seats, and there he sat alone. After presenting his credentials, he informed the synod that, on leaving England, the king, "*verbis sublimibus*, above all

sphere of conceit and apprehension," directed him to exhort them to peace. Such a message was well timed and sadly needed, for there seemed little prospect of fair treatment to their adversaries at the hands of the banded Calvinists. How grieved must Hall have been as he contemplated the strife impending!

We do not possess many details of his conduct during the short time he was able to stay at the synod, but we can readily believe him when he says that, even after sickness had driven him away, he did not fail, while at the Hague, to impart his advice. That sickness, and not any dereliction of duty, was the true cause of his departure is absolutely certain, notwithstanding the insinuation that he shrank from the coming troubles, and had in particular failed to agree with Deodatus, of Geneva. In his "Specialities" he says that the unquietness of the nights in a garrison town, working upon the tender disposition of his body, brought him to such weakness through want of rest, that it began to disable him from attending the synod. Still, he forced himself to do so, wishing that his zeal might discountenance his infirmity. On December 6th the Bishop of Llandaff writes, "The Dean of Worcester hath not had his health well these two or three days." On the 17th Hales tells Carleton, English ambassador at the Hague, "Mr. Dean of Worcester is very crazy and sickly of late, and keeps his chamber, neither hath he been in the synod some of these last sessions. I hear he purposes to come to the Hague, to see if he shall have his health better there." In the teeth of this it is scarcely necessary to seek any other cause for his withdrawal. A joint letter from our divines was addressed to Carleton to

the effect that the air of Dort not agreeing with Hall, he desired leave to return ; they recommended in his room Dr. Goad, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, long since well known as Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge and the uncompromising supporter of the Lambeth Articles. The Prince of Orange was reluctant to lose Hall, and wished him to go to the Hague for change of air. It was found, said the prince, that "the sufficiency and discretion of our men was so great, the rest of the strangers being guided by them, that they rather wished their numbers augmented than diminished ; particularly they are unwilling to spare Mr. Dean, of whom they take particular note." To the Hague, therefore, Hall went, where he was nursed in the ambassador's house. Still, in spite of all that could be done, his weakness increased so far that there seemed but little likelihood of so much strength remaining as would bring him back to England. At the request of Carleton His Majesty now gave him leave to return, and substituted Dr. Goad in his "unwillingly-forsaken room." It was on January 1st (1619) that Hall quietly left Dort, "giving notice to no man ;" on the 8th we find him again at Dort, having returned that way previous to his final departure. Perhaps his sickness was too great to admit of his appearing in person, it may be that his modesty forbade it ; at all events, he "*sent in* his sad farewell to the grave assembly." His letters were "produced and *read*, together with a form of valediction and farewell, by him conceived." When it was, therefore, that, as Fuller says, he "composed his countenance with a becoming gravity, and publicly took his solemn farewell of the synod" with a Latin speech given in detail, I cannot dis-

cover. Is Fuller here imaginative rather than historical? Presented to my readers in an English dress, the farewell was as follows :—

“ I shall not easily be reconciled to this body of mine, a living corpse and wearisome burden ! which has so often grudged me the honour of your synod, and now, utterly against my will, rudely calls me from you and tears me away. Believe me, there is no spot beneath the sky so fair and heavenly wherein I had rather pitch my tent, or which I shall remember with such heartfelt affection. Happy you to whom the privilege is given ! I was not worthy (if I may follow the faithful Roman in his complaint), in the name of Christ and of His Church, any longer to perform this sacred duty. But God’s will be done. His Sovereign Majesty, the King of England, having heard of my constant ill-health, and pitying his poor servant, summons me home, because he knows that you could be profited nothing by my remains or my coffin. How distinguished a man, and how famous a theologian he has chosen with all care and appointed in my room, I need not say. What may befall myself, now mere food for the worms, I leave to the good God Whose I entirely am. As for you, so happily has provision been made for you, that you have reason to be deeply grateful to my sickness, since it has blessed your assembly with so able a substitute for myself. Still, I will not, if God grant me life and strength, incur the guilt of absence both in body and mind. Wherever I may be, I solemnly promise this synod that with head and hand I will earnestly and diligently, to the best of my ability, further the objects you have in view. Meanwhile, right honourable Delegates, most Reverend President, grave Assessors, learned Scribes, venerable brethren in the ministry, and all this awful synod, sick as I am in mind and body, I bid you collectively and individually farewell for ever. I earnestly beg that the prayers of you all may go with me, and bring your feeble fellow-labourer safe home.”

The synod resolved that the Præses and Assessors, together with the secular Scribes, should, at the close of the session, repair to the Dean, and take their leave of him in the name of all the rest, and by him commend their love and service unto His Majesty, and render him humble thanks for his princely care. All which the same night was done. The Præses concluded the session with a prayer, in which he prayed for the Dean's health, and for the good success of his journey. Nor were the States behind the synod in showing respect. Their deputies, after "a very respectful compliment" sent to him by Daniel Heinsius, visited Hall, and after a noble acknowledgment of more good service than he durst own, dismissed him with an "honourable retribution," and sent after him a "rich medal of gold." This medal is now in the possession of Emmanuel College, to which it was bequeathed in 1752 by William Jermy, of Bayfield, Norfolk, whose father (as may be seen from the pedigree in the appendix) had married Mary Starkey, a descendant of Hall's third daughter Ann. Through Mr. Shuckburgh, whose kindness I have already acknowledged, I am favoured with the following description of this interesting relic : "The Dort medal is gold, with a thick ring attached to it. It is somewhat larger and much thicker than a crown piece. On one side it has a mountain, with a circular temple (like the Tivoli Temple) on the top, over which is the word in Hebrew characters, Jehovah, with a 'glory' under it. At the four corners, in the shape of a St. Andrew's cross, are the four winds proceeding in visible blasts from four faces. The legend round the edge is *Erunt ut Mons Sion* CMCXIX. On the reverse is

a representation of the synod. A long hall, with open arched roof, with beams stretching across it. There are three rows of benches or pews, filled with figures on each side. A table and canopied raised seat at the further end. Down the centre runs a long table with figures seated. At the nearer end there are a quadruple row of pews, divided by a bar or door, and outside this bar, figures of men standing,* and a dog. All, or nearly all, the figures are wearing high hats. Legend RELIGIONE ASSERTA. On the two sides of the doorway, on the cancelli, are the figures 16 19. The medal is, I think, very beautifully executed."

Before we end our account of Hall's visit to the synod, one or two points must be noticed in connection with it, which materially affect his character for sincerity and truth. John Goodwin, an earnest Arminian and independent thinker,—as is indicated by the fact that, Arminian as he was, he yet approved the death of Charles I.,—charges the synod with having administered an oath to each member at, or before, his admission thereto to "vote down the Remonstrants and their doctrines howsoever." He does not, indeed, make the charge directly, but his language is such that his disavowal is even still more offensive. Fuller, seeing how seriously the reputation of our divines was affected hereby, upon thinking the matter over when many years had passed, and Hall was now the aged Bishop of Norwich, wrote to him, asking for satisfaction in this particular. The Bishop's reply, dated Higham, August 30th, 1651, was as follows:—

* No doubt the spectators, of whom the Bishop of Llandaff said there were one day four or five hundred.

“Whereas you desire from me a just relation of the carriage of the business at the Synod of Dort, and the conditions required of our divines there, at, or before, their admission to that grave and learned assembly; I, whom God was pleased to employ as an unworthy agent in that great work, and to reserve still upon earth after all my reverend and worthy associates, do, as in the presence of that God to Whom I am now daily expecting to yield up my account, testify to you and (if you will) to the world, that I cannot, without just indignation, read that slanderous imputation which Mr. Goodwin, in his ‘Redemption Redeemed,’ reports to have been raised, and cast upon those divines, eminent both for learning and piety, that they suffered themselves to be bound with an oath, at, or before, their admission into that synod, to vote down the Remonstrants howsoever; so as they came deeply pre-engaged to the decision of those unhappy differences. Truly, sir, as I hope to be saved, all the oath that was required of us was this: after that the moderator, assistants, and scribes were chosen, and the synod formed, and the several members allowed, there was a solemn oath required to be taken of every one of that assembly, which was publicly done in a grave manner by every person in their order, standing up, and laying his hand upon his heart, calling the great God of heaven to witness, that he would impartially proceed in the judgment of these controversies, which should be laid before him, only out of, and according to, the written word of God, and no otherwise; so determining of them as he should find in his conscience most agreeable to the Holy Scriptures. Which oath was punctually agreed to be thus taken by the articles of the States, concerning the indiction and ordering of the synod, as appears plainly in their tenth article; and this was all the oath that was either taken or required. And far was it from those holy souls which are now glorious in heaven, or mine (who still survive to give this just witness of our sincere integrity), to entertain the least thought of any so foul corruption, as by any overruling

power to be swayed to a prejudgment in the points controverted. It grieves my soul, therefore, to see that any learned divine should raise imaginary conjectures to himself of an interest and obligation of a fancied oath (working upon them, and drawing them contrary to the dictation of their own conscience, as it did Herod's in the case of John Baptist's beheading) merely out of his own comparative construction of the different forms of expressing themselves in managing these controversies. Wherein if at any time they seemed to speak nearer to the tenet of the Remonstrants, it must be imputed to their holy ingenuity, and gracious disposition to peace, and to no other sinister respect. Sir, since I have lived to see so foul an aspersion cast upon the memory of those worthy and eminent divines, I bless God that I yet live to vindicate them, by this my knowing, clear, and assured attestation; which I am ready to second with the solemnest oath, if I shall be thereto required.

"Your much-devoted friend, precessor, and fellow-labourer,
"JOSEPH HALL, B.N."

Such a *testimonium* from "such an one as" Dr. Hall, and now "aged," says Fuller, may seem his *testamentum*, "his witness, his will. It amply vindicates the synod, and clears our representatives, who, though they did not vote, yet advised, from any share in the reproach."

Another point of great interest is the attitude of the synod towards our ecclesiastical discipline. It might have been expected that a Presbyterian synod would have displayed at least as much animosity against episcopacy as some Churchmen at the present day. But what are the facts? In the 149th session, April 20th, the Belgic Confession was brought into the synod, containing matter both of doctrine and discipline. The Bishop of Llandaff, in

the name of himself and colleagues (Hall, it will be remembered, had now been gone more than three months), approved all the points of doctrine, but made a protest in favour of episcopacy and in defence of the Church of England. To this interpellation of the British divines *nothing at all was answered*. So far Fuller. Now for Hall's testimony ("Episcop. by Divine Right," Introduction, sect. 4).

"When the Bishop of Llandaff had, in a speech of his, touched upon episcopal government, and showed that the want thereof gave opportunities to those divisions which were then on foot in the Netherlands: Bogermannus, the president of that assembly, stood up, and in a good allowance of what had been spoken, said, *Domine, nos non sumus adeo felices*. 'Alas! my lord, we are not so happy.' Neither did he speak this in a fashionable compliment; neither the person, nor the place, nor the hearers were fit for that; but in a sad gravity, and conscionable profession of a known truth. Neither would he, being the mouth of that select assembly, have thought it safe to pass those words before the deputies of the States and so many venerable divines of foreign parts (besides their own), if he had not supposed this so clear a truth, as that synod would neither disrelish, nor contradict." It is strange that Churchmen now should be so eager to disparage what nonconformists two hundred and eighty years ago, having partly through wilfulness, partly through force of circumstances lost, were so anxious to regain.

One more subject must be faced,—what, as exactly as may be, was Hall's belief with regard to the "Five Busy Articles," which had brought the synod together? His sickness and early compulsory de-

parture have deprived us of any connected series of expressed opinions then delivered, but fortunately we have abundant material elsewhere for forming a judgment upon this topic. When it came to his turn to be taxed with "Popery and Pelagianism," he wrote to his old colleague at Dort amongst others, Davenant, who was made Bishop of Salisbury in 1621, "As if this calumny (the charge of popery) were not enough, there want not those whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foul aspersions of another sect, whose name is as much hated as little understood. My lord, you know I had a place with you, though unworthy, in that famous Synod of Dort, where, howsoever, sickness bereaved me of the honours of a conclusive subscription, yet your lordship heard me, with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of that way. God so love me, as I do the tranquillity and happiness of His church : yet can I not so overaffect it, that I would sacrifice one dram of truth to it. To that good God do I appeal as the witness of my sincere heart to his whole truth, and no less than ever zealous detestation of all Popery and Pelagianism." Whatever his advances to Arminius, he would clearly not fraternise with Pelagius. But for the details of his views on the Five Points I must beg my readers to go with me into the following pages.



CHAPTER XII.

*CONTINUED ILL-HEALTH.—“THE HONOUR OF THE
MARRIED CLERGY.”—“THE VIA MEDIA.”—THE
ARCHBISHOP OF SPALATO.—SERMONS, ETC.—
BISHOP OF EXETER.*

IT was on January 8th that Hall left Dort for England, and on the 14th Carleton writes to the Archbishop, “I doubt he is not yet arrived by reason of the contrariety of the winds.” Hall’s own account is: “The difficulties of my return in such weakness were many and great, wherein, if ever, God manifested His special providence to me, in overruling the cross accidents of that passage; and, after many dangers and despairs, contriving my safe arrival.” The following letter to Ward is interesting in more respects than one.

“To my right worshipful and loving friend Mr. Dr. Ward,
at Dort, in Sir John Berck’s house there.

“GOOD BROTHER WARD,—Ever since my return my health hath come on so slowly that I could not so much as write until now. You have heard of our passage, partly troublesome, and partly also successful. I could not till within these two days present myself to the king, of whom I was received exceeding graciously. All the last Sunday’s dinner he spent in discourse with me about our synodal affairs. Some busy information hath moved him against the president as undiscreetly hot and rigid in the dismissal of the

Remonstrants. I have fully satisfied him. I perceive His Majesty much disturbed with the displacing of the Apocrypha: it did a little pacify him to learn that we had publicly required it should be inserted in the Act, that this sentence was without rather than against the allowance of the foreign divines; which you must take care may be considerably done when the Act shall be intended to light.

"The particular letters which Mr. Balcanquall writes give satisfaction to His Majesty, when either your common are silent or come late. I was yesterday with my lord's grace, who rejoices in the report of the approbation of our British divines.

"Remember my service to my Lord of Llandaff; my thanks to Sir John Berck; my love to my other brethren; and let us strive mutually in our prayers for each other. For me, I shall not fail to be,

"Ever your truly loving brother and double colleague,

"JOS. HALL.

"WALTHAM, *Candlemas Day* (1619-20)."

A month afterwards he writes:—

"GOOD DR. WARD,—How much am I beholden to you that, among all that throng of business, you could find time to send me so full and so welcome a letter. I am glad yet to hear that you look towards an end of those affairs which are now tedious, but had like to have been infinite. We heard news of differences betwixt you; belike the end is peace. I shall long for your return, that I may be sated with a full relation. I was gone a day's journey towards Worcester, when my weak body turned me back, as not yet abiding any motion. The last week was not without much fear and grief here for His Majesty's dangerous unhealth; our God be praised, the worst is over, and his recovery proceeds with happy expedition; yet he is still at Royston, and will be for more days than I think he would. The rumours of the Spanish fleet had so possessed our people, that the beacons

on Sussex side were (as I hear) on a fire upon a view of some number of Hollanders. Dover was wiser, and stayed the false alarm. My lord of Warwick is dead. My lord of Doncaster will shortly see you in his way to Germany, whither he goes ambassador. Dr. Dun goes his chaplain. The queen's solemn funeral is appointed April 29th. All our court is turned black. Mr. Jeffry is so well approved here, that here he settles with my lord.

"That which you write of 12th received after my departure needs your further comment. That there should be a proportionate deduction for those public rooms is good reason, whereof yet I had (you know) too little use. Remember my service to my lord B. and to Sir John Berck, with my true love to all the rest of your worthy colleagues, to whom I wish a speedy, safe, and successful return. With all this curious tendance and length of time, I can hardly yet recollect myself; so deep rooted was my Hollandish distemper. Let me charge you also to remember me in all kind respects to our worthy president, to the assessors and scribes, to Mr. Dr. MacGregor, to Mr. Simon Schott, of Middleburgh, to Mr. Dan. Heinsius. My prayers shall be for a comfortable and happy dismissal of your so reverend assembly. Farewell.

"From your loving brother and colleague,

"JOS. HALL.

"WALTHAM, *March 30th*, styl. vet. 1618."

The next letter, to Carleton, shows how near death he must have been, and with what shamelessness preferment was begged:—

"1619, WALTHAM, *April 25th*.

"To my right honourable good Lord Sir Dudley Carleton, Knight, lord ambassador from his Majesty to the States General at the Hague.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,—It were an idle presumption to write you any news while you have so many living packets;

and besides that, what have I to write, but the remembrance of my duteous thankfulness to your lordship and my good lady ; that alone will not be displeasing to so honourable a friend, which I shall sooner die than forget.

"I retract that which my last letter, following partial rumour, reported of Macollo, a man whom oddness will make more spoken of than merit.

"Despotine went away with an hundred years and much reputation ; though, indeed, the supreme physician did all almost without these. I never saw the king look better than some hours since I saw him ; only his legs are not returned to their use and strength.

"Since my return I have been twice dead in general rumour, and my dignity is sued for : yet still I rub out ; and hope for as much health as I have lost. I long to hear of my pew-fellows of the synod, whose return I wish happy and speedy. If my duty and thanks may be presented to my good lady, I have done, who shall never cease to be your lordship's truly devoted

"JOSEPH HALL."

In the month of August 1619 the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, son-in-law of King James, received the crown of Bohemia, and became the recognised leader of the Protestant cause, and the centre of those hopes which were so rudely shattered within rather more than a twelvemonth at the battle of the Weissberg. This country was almost entirely in his favour ; but the king, at heart as cowardly as he was cruel, and afraid of the increasing influence of the Romanists, was anxious to conciliate Spain, and push on the match between Charles and the Infanta. On September 22nd, 1619, Hall writes to Carleton :—"The great Spaniard* is

* Gondomar.

now daily expected. The Bishop of Ely's house is commanded for him *mal-gré*. The friar, his factor, went away yesterday from the court without audience. We hope well ; neither can see how two buckets should go down into the well at once. I was so forward in praying for the King of Bohemia, that my zeal was accused and censured ; *nec pœnitet*. The world did never so stand upon tiptoes." Hall, it seems, in his public prayer had given the Prince Frederick the title King of Bohemia. Hence the censure.

In the year 1621 appeared his treatise "The Honour of the Married Clergy." Twelve years before, Hall, deeming the argument "shallow enough for an epistle," had written a letter on the "Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons."

"And now, thus late, when I had almost forgot that I had written it, a moody mass-priest drops out a tedious and virulent refutation ; through my sides striking at the most honourable and flourishing clergy of the whole Christian world ; labouring, not so much for my disgrace (what would that avail him ?) as the dishonour and scorn of our holy profession in the eyes of the people. I could condemn it in silence, if the quarrel were only mine : now, my wrong cannot be distinguished from thousands. God and His Church are engaged in this cause, which, in my foil, could not but sustain loss : neither may I now be silent, with safety, without misconstruction. Let this hand and tongue be no longer mine than they may serve my Master in Heaven, and His Spouse on earth. That which I wrote in some three hours he hath answered in three quarternions of years ; and what I wrote in three leaves he hath answered in no fewer pages than three hundred and eighty. Should I follow him in this proportion, he might, after some centuries of years, expect an answer in Tostatushides, whose first word

should be *Quis leget hæc*? Or, if my patience would delay my reply to the just paces of his answer, this volume of his would perhaps be vanished into grocers' shops for waste paper, *in thuris piperisve cucullos*, and would no more need answer than now it deserveth one. But, hearing of the insultation of some popishly affected, who glorified and triumphed in this *Achilles pro Catholicis*, I addressed myself to the work, with no little indignation and no less speed; that my self-conceited adversary and his seduced abettors may see, how little a well-ordered marriage is guilty of deadening our spirits, or slacking our hands. At the beginning of this summer's progress, when it pleased his sacred Majesty to take notice of this sorry libel, and to question with me concerning it, I had not so much as read it over; so newly was it come to my hands. Ere his happy return, be it spoken to the only glory of Him that enabled me, I had not only finished this answer, but twice written it over with my own hand; and yet made this but the recreation of the weightier business of my calling, which now did more than ordinarily urge me. It was my purpose to have answered, as beseemeth the person *a quo* not *ad quem*, mildly, according to my known disposition; but, upon better deliberation, I found the insolency of my refuter such that I could not favour him, and not be cruel to my cause. If, therefore, for many (it is his own art and word) 'railative' pages, he receives from my unwilling and enforced pen, now and then, though not a 'railative' to such an antecedent, yet, perhaps, some drop of sharper vinegar, than my ink useth to be tempered withal, he may forgive me, and must thank himself."

To this account of both author and book it is unnecessary to add a word, beyond a note of admiration at his power of rapid production, and the artless ingenuity with which he could speak of his own admitted virtues,—in *such a man* no small testimony

to his sincere and truthful character. Before entering upon the work, or shortly after beginning it, he wrote (July 14th, 1620) to his former colleague at Dort, Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney College, as follows :—" There is lately come forth a very spiteful and tedious answer by a Catholic priest to a little apology that I wrote for the marriage of ecclesiastical persons ; if you have by you any notes to this purpose, you shall oblige me much to impart them. I remember Chemnitius upon this point, speaking of the sixth council of Constantinople, which we call the Trullan, whose 138th canon is so clear for us, says there that this canon is by papists expunged out of the councils. I have none by me but Binus. I pray you do me the favour speedily to search the copy you have, and let me know upon what grounds Chemnitius thus reports. If you have your globe by you (I have none), send me word how many degrees there are betwixt the utmost parts of the East Indies and Terra Florida, or that and Mexico." He desires to be remembered to his old master, "Mr. Dr. Chaderton, and Mr. Dr. Davenant." The treatise consists of three books, containing in all sixty-four sections, and, bound up with it in the form of an appendix, was a tract upon the subject which Hall had seen in the Inner Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, written amongst seventeen other treatises "in a fair set hand by an author of great learning and antiquity," who had suppressed his name, but described himself as *Rotomagensis*. The date of the manuscript, according to Hall, was about 1114. It is given in Latin and in English, and is followed by a corroborative passage from Erasmus. The leading points of "The Honour of

? the Married Clergy" are noticed in the next chapter, so that they need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the author extols virginity, while he does not hesitate to sharply condemn enforced celibacy.

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The next important literary work in which Hall was engaged was the "Via Media," a laudable, earnest, and partly successful attempt to compose the bitter strife raging between the English followers of Arminius on the one side, and of Calvin on the other. The exact date of this work cannot be determined, but that which has been assigned to it (Jones's "Memoir"), viz., "before the injunctions of August 1622," is almost certainly much too early. The circumstances out of which it came, and the author's aims, are thus described by Hall himself in the "Specialities":—

"After not many years' settling at home; it grieved my soul to see our own Church begin to sicken of the same disease which we had endeavoured to cure in our neighbours. Mr. Montague's tart and vehement assertions of some positions, near of kin to the Remonstrants of Netherland, gave occasion of raising no small broil in the Church. Sides were taken, pulpits everywhere rang of these opinions; but parliaments took notice of the division, and questioned the occasioner. Now, as one that desired to do all good offices to our dear and common Mother, I set my thoughts on work, how so dangerous a quarrel might be happily composed; and, finding that mis-taking was more guilty of this division, than mis-believing (since it plainly appeared to me that Mr. Montague meant to express, not Arminius, but B. Overall, a more moderate and safe author, however he sped in delivery of him), I wrote a little project of pacification, wherein I desired to rectify the judgment of men concerning this misapprehended controversy; showing

them the true way in this unseasonable plea. And because Bishop Overall went a midway betwixt the two opinions which he held extreme, and must needs, therefore, somewhat differ from the commonly received tenet in these points, I gathered out of B. Overall on the one side, and out of our English divines at Dort on the other, such common propositions concerning the Five Busy Articles, as wherein both of them are fully agreed. All which being put together, seemed unto me to make up so sufficient a body of accorded truth, that all other questions moved hereabouts appeared merely superfluous; and every moderate Christian might find where to rest himself, without hazard of contradiction. These I made bold, by the hands of Dr. Young, the worthy Dean of Winchester, to present to his Excellent Majesty, together with an humble motion of a peaceable silence to be enjoined to both parts, in those other collateral and needless disquisitions: which if they might befit the schools of academical disputants, could not certainly sound well from the pulpits of popular auditories. These reconciliatory papers fell under the eyes of some grave divines on both parts. Mr. Montague professed that he had seen them, and would subscribe them; others that were contrarily minded, both English, Scottish, and French divines, proffered their hands to a no less ready subscription. So as much peace promised to result out of that weak and poor enterprise, had not the confused noise of the misconstructions of those who never saw the work, crying it down for the very name's sake, meeting with the royal edict of a general inhibition, buried it in a secure silence."

By way of supplement, it may be observed that the English Church had long been predisposed to that "disease," which became painfully acute when Parliament in 1624 was petitioned by the Puritan lecturers, Messrs. Yates and Ward, to censure the author of "A New Gag for an Old Goose" and Mon-

tague, encouraged by Laud and others, and appealing from the archbishop to the king, set about preparing his "Appello Cæsarem," the source of so much parliamentary heat in the next four or five years. It was in 1609 that Abbot, the future archbishop, left Oxford to become Bishop of Lichfield, but for years previous he had been fighting a losing battle with his resolute antagonist Laud. In 1614 his brother, Dr. Robert Abbot, thus denounced the successful leader of the Church party:—"Might not Christ say, what art thou? Romish or English? Papist or Protestant? Or what art thou? A mongrel, or compound of both? A Protestant by ordination, a Papist in point of free-will, inherent righteousness, and the like?" A fresh impulse was given to Arminianism by the king's orders to the two universities in 1616, by which students in divinity were directed to eschew *compendiums*, and turn their attention to the Fathers and councils, schoolmen, histories, and controversies. The Synod of Dort, intended to lay the "Kako-dæmon" of theological hate to rest in Holland, only roused him to greater activity in England. Hitherto the scene of battle had been the universities and the schools; now it was transferred to quiet country villages and busy towns. In every pulpit stood a champion for Arminius or Calvin, and preachers were fast becoming political propagandists. The Spanish match was odious to the nation as a whole, and in April 1622 Knight, at Oxford, maintained the position, that subjects might take up arms against their Sovereign in defence of their religion. All copies of Pareus' "Commentary," on which the offender based his argument, were ordered to be publicly burnt; but

something more than this was needed, and in the following August directions concerning preachers were published. No one beneath the rank of dean was henceforth to preach in any popular auditory on predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of God's grace. And beside all this there existed a profound distrust of the king's intentions. Concession after concession was made to the Romanists, who, the King of England promised the King of Spain, should in future be free from capital punishment for the offence of their religion, and as soon as possible should also be relieved from fines. The negotiations for the marriage were still pending. In 1623 things appeared so serious that the archbishop wrote a letter to James openly expostulating on the ground of the favour shown to Romanists, and in the same year the first Roman bishop was received in England. The popular excitement was intense, and though mitigated by the return of the prince from Madrid and the breaking off of the match, the temper of the nation was seen when Parliament in 1624, eager for war with Spain, petitioned for a general fast before beginning the session. Hall (in the dedication of the "Via Media") might well say, "There needs no prophetic spirit to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming towards our Church, such a one as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. Already do we see the sky thicken, and hear the winds whistle afar off, and feel all the presages of a tempest." And again : "Men, brethren, fathers, help ! Who sees not a dangerous fire kindling in our Church by these five fatal brands ? which, if it be not speedily quenched,

threatens a furious eruption, and shall, too late, die in our ashes." What cause would he pursue? He tells us :—"Let me boldly say, it is not disputation, it is not counterwriting that can quench it. These courses are but the bellows, to diffuse and raise these flashes to more height and rage. We saw it in the practice of our neighbours; never did that Belgic quarrel grow to extremity, till after the solemn conference before the States at the Hague. There is no possible redress but in a severe edict of restraint, to charm all tongues and pens, upon the sharpest punishment, from passing those moderate bounds which the Church of England, guided by the Scriptures, hath expressly set; or which, on both sides, are fully accorded on." The points at issue are, as he said, disputable to the world's end, as may be seen in the experience no less of the Roman than of the German and Netherlandish Churches; and that no better method of procedure could then be discovered than the one he suggested, was proved by the famous declaration of 1628, forbidding any man to either "*print or preach*, to draw the article aside any way, or to put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article," and requiring submission to it in the plain and full meaning, and that it should be taken in the literal and grammatical sense. This is probably the "general inhibition" to which Hall refers as "burying his own book in a secure silence." Montague's "Appello" had just previously been suppressed after the author's elevation to a bishopric. Upon the whole, one may be thankful that Hall's influence was not sufficiently great to procure a declaration enforcing uniformity on the lines of the "*Via Media*," but, as ever, his doctrinal moderation is striking; and when

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we find men otherwise so far apart as Laud and Hall agreeing in prohibition as the only cure for the destroyers of Church and State, we may be sure that his judgment was not very far wrong.

Our promised abstract of his opinions on the Five Articles may perhaps not unfitly be introduced here. In the "Via Media" he says, "I have carried myself so indifferently, that, as I have hid my own judgment, so I have rather seemed partial against my own resolutions." We must, therefore, turn elsewhere. In the persecutions which arose in Holland after the Synod of Dort, some of Hall's friends, being in danger, wrote asking for the support of his opinion on certain of the controverted points. This was subsequent to the year 1627, in which Hall was made Bishop of Exeter. We are, therefore, fortunate in having his views when the sense of greater responsibility would rest upon him, and his judgment would be calmer and more mature.

Predestination.—Who in his senses would deny that Christ is the foundation of the decree of election? The condition to be fulfilled by those who shall be saved is faith, not foreseen and required beforehand in those to be chosen (Ep. to Willius, Professor at Bremen. This clearly negatives Arminianism).

Reprobation.—He readily admits the distinction between negative and positive reprobation; the former being equivalent to non-election, the latter a "*præparatio pænæ eorum, qui, in statu corruptionis relictī, iudicium sibi meritissimum accersunt.*" Why are some passed over in election, and come under the decree of eternal punishment? Some, following a *via rigidior*, reply—by the *absoluta Dei potestas voluntasque*. This is as dangerous as the

opposite error of the parasites of the human will. The British divines at Dort took up the position that God damns no man or predestines any man to damnation *nisi ex consideratione peccati*. No man in his senses would deny that *præteritio* and *derelictio* and the decree of eternal punishment are on account of the individual's unbelief and other sins (*ib.*) (Hall thus holds that the decree to damnation is because of prevision, the decree to life is not. Those who come under the latter are chosen that they may be saved). As regards the argument for irrespective predestination sometimes drawn from God's possession of absolute power, this, he says, is to fasten upon the most merciful God a kind of tyranny. No one doubts God's absolute power, but that He should exercise it over us after determining to deal with men according to orderly methods, and after solemnly declaring His love and longing for the salvation of men, is too cruel a thought for any Christian. Would that hateful expressions (*formulae*) of this sort had either never fallen from any pious and learned doctor of the Reformed religion, or if by chance they had been rashly allowed to escape his lips, they had at once been consigned to everlasting oblivion. (*Ep. to Herm. Hildebrand, Pastor of St. Stephen's, Bremen.*)

Extent of the Efficacy of Christ's Death.—*Christ died for all;* but in what sense? He died for all, so that each and all, through faith, may by virtue of the ransom attain remission of sins and eternal life. He so died for the elect that by the merit of His death, according to the good pleasure of God from all eternity specially theirs, they infallibly attain to faith and eternal life (*ib.*).

Resistibility of Grace.—We can resist grace, inviting and strongly urging us to conversion. But there is a peculiar grace, which the man called thereby does not resist, and which no hardness of heart rejects. Elsewhere he makes this irresistible grace equivalent to irresistible persuasion, thus following St. Augustine's efforts to save free-will while destroying it, and, of course, with as little success.

In his letter to Crocius, Divinity Professor at Bremen, he lays down the nine following *dicta* upon the whole series of questions. It will be seen how very far he was from being a strict Calvinist, and the reader, having regard to the fact that Hall was brought up at the feet of the godfather of English Calvinism, and trained in a Puritan seminary, will no doubt recognise the freedom of thought and independence of judgment, which could arrive at conclusions so full of the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.

"1. It is impossible to find a cause for the will of God, which is the universal cause; besides an insolent curiosity, this would be to pass the bounds of the infinite.

"2. Although God might justly have enforced His absolute right over His creatures, yet it is His will and wont to proceed by orderly and revealed methods.

"3. Since God is essential goodness, wisdom, justice, and so the source and fount of all goodness, wisdom, justice, nothing can flow from Him which is not perfectly good, wise, and just. We His creatures ought, therefore, to humbly acquiesce in His good pleasure.

"4. But from this it follows of necessity that there can be no good in any creature unless it were implanted by Him and derived from Him Who is the source of all good.

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"5. Furthermore, it follows that God is not the author of sin.

"6. That God damns no one except for sin ; for damnation is an act of punitive justice ; now, punishment supposes guilt, for what just man would smite the innocent ?

"7. That God solemnly invites all men everywhere to faith and repentance, and upon those conditions to salvation ; not merely with the intention that they may be without excuse, for there is no 'philanthropy' in this, but that if they really keep His commands they may gain what He graciously offers.

"8. In the matter of predestination we have no concern with the secret counsels of God, but we must judge of ourselves and others by His revealed will. We ought so to regulate our lives and work out our salvation as though there were no secret decree of God respecting us. What affair of yours is it, O man, what has been determined in Heaven ? Only do what the Holy and Just Creator and Redeemer has commanded you to do, you must be safe and saved ; otherwise in vain you promise yourself salvation. So, too, we must devote ourselves to faith, penitence, and good works, as though salvation and freedom from all peril of reprobation depended upon them alone ; we must be as much upon our guard against infidelity and every wilful violation of the Divine law, as though, leaving out of account all hidden decrees, damnation depended upon them. Whoever acts otherwise, and beforehand pronounces upon his eternal state, wretchedly abuses the secret counsels of God which ought to be regarded with silent reverence.

"9. In the antecedents of conversion and motions for good which the Spirit of God works even in the unregenerate, God forsakes no man before He Himself is forsaken. It is entirely, therefore, through their own fault that, earnestly invited to regeneration, men are destitute of further grace ; their voluntary obstinacy and unbelief becomes their ruin." (*Letter to Crocius, Professor at Bremen.*)

Following the sequence of thought rather than of facts, we have been led to somewhat anticipate the narrative. In 1622 Hall took part in dissuading the Archbishop of Spalato from returning to Italy, and addressed to him a Latin epistle on the subject. Marcus Antonius de Dominis, the most illustrious convert from Romanism to Protestantism of the time, born in 1566, was educated at the Jesuit College at Loretto ; but, though employed by his former masters as a teacher of rhetoric and mathematics, he never joined their order. In 1602 he was raised to the archbishopric of Spalato, in Dalmatia, under the state of Venice, which he held for the next fourteen years, when leaving his Church and country, and tarrying a while in Holland, he reached England December 6th, 1616. Fuller says, "Conscience in show and covetousness in deed caused his coming hither." But he himself declares that from the earliest years of his ministry he had been animated by an intense longing for the re-union of Christendom, and tormented by the sight of so many rents in the robe of Christ. This is reason enough for his finding it advisable to seek a home elsewhere. On his arriving in England people flocked to see him ; he was everywhere feasted ; and the universities "addressed themselves to him in their solemn reception, as if he himself alone had been a university." In the course of the next year his treatise "*De Republica Ecclesiasticâ*" was published at London, with Bedell's (afterwards Bishop) corrections. Honours and preferment came fast. The king, after consigning him to the Archbishop of Canterbury for his present entertainment, sent him a silver basin and cup, the one, as Spalato said in acknowledging

the gift, "to wash from him the filth of the Roman Church, the other to mind him to drink the purity of the Gospel;" and before long the deanery of Windsor, together with the mastership of the Savoy, and a good parsonage at West Ilsley, in Berkshire, consoled him for any sad reflections on the splendour he had left. At the close of 1617 he assisted at the ordination of the new bishops of Bristol and Exeter, and took precedence of all English bishops. Hall somewhat frequently speaks of him, and for the most part with approval. The earliest mention I can find of him in the Bishop's writings is in "The Honour of the Married Clergy." "It is happy for us, and for that reverend Archbishop Marcus Antonius de Dominis, that this railer (C. E.) can object nothing to him but a harmless load of corpulency. It moves their spleen enough that this learned prelate hath honoured our island with a Dalmatian pall. Their cause feels, that he can, notwithstanding, pass into the pulpit. What speak they of this when, to their sorrow, they see he could pass over the Alps to leave Rome? This beagle, and his bawling Beverlinck, and the kennel of Sorbonne, may bay at him; but not one of their bandogs dare fasten." He is described as of comely personage, tall stature, grey beard, grave countenance, fair language, fluent expression, somewhat abdominous, of an imperious and domineering spirit, proud and covetous, possessed of too much wit and learning to be a cordial papist, and too little honesty and religion to be a sincere Protestant; good, however, at controversy, and as a stylist strong and clear. His love of jeering was so great that it brought him to ruin. Gondomar, it seems, was suffering from

fistula, and Spalato told him that the only cure was "three turns at Tyburn." The great Spaniard was so incensed that he determined to work the archbishop's downfall ; and, playing upon his avarice, soon lured him into the trap with the offer from Rome of the bishopric of Salerno, and 12,000 crowns a year. Spalato was now anxious to return, all the more because his petition for the archbishopric of York had been refused, and in January 1622 he addressed to the king a letter containing his reasons for leaving. He expressed his concern for the peace and tranquillity of this kingdom, and complained of the ailments and inconveniences of old age, the sharpness of the cold air of this country, his great want of friends and kinsfolk.

It was under these circumstances that Hall wrote his "Dissuasive Epistle to Spalato," which, though but a short composition, enables us to judge how he would have regarded any schemes of to-day for the reunion of Christendom. He was willing to add his prayers to those of others that God would bless His Church with peace, but if any mortal man thought he could effect this, he was much deceived. Rome must first change her nature ; and who could hope for so much ? Mutual concessions upon minor points were possible, but as Rome was, to be at one with her was impossible as for light to consort with darkness, or God with Belial. He deeply distrusted the tender mercies of Rome, and bade Spalato beware. He urged him to thoroughly sift his motives before making the change. "You are now an old man. Let your gray hairs, those funeral wreaths which deck your brows with venerable beauty, be your monitors, that the dread day

is not far off when you will stand before the judgment seat of the Most High, to give an account of the change of your opinions. Earnestly consider what answer you will give to the infallible Judge of quick and dead. Whatever may be the lot of the blinded multitude from whose eyes the bright beams of heavenly doctrine are wont to be kept by perfidious tyranny, it cannot be that you, with all the learning and experience which God has bestowed upon you, should not smart for having known the truth and then denied it." The issue was that Spalato was commanded to depart the kingdom at his own peril within twenty days, and never to return again. In vain, perhaps influenced by the fate which had recently befallen Fulgentius, who, on preaching against the pope at Venice, had been lured to Rome, and there favoured and feasted and burnt to ashes, and of whom Hall reminded him, he begged for permission to stay. He was compelled to depart. At Rome he recanted his errors, and was at first well received. Afterwards he wrote letters to England recanting his recantation. These were intercepted, and he was imprisoned. He died in 1624, it was said by poison, though there appears to have been no ground for the suspicion. After death, like our "dead martyr of Cambridge," his body was exhumed and burnt, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber. Thus ended the curious history of a pervert to Protestantism. Hall ("Ep. by Div. Right") quotes him in support of the position that there is an *essential* difference between a bishop and a presbyter, not, indeed, in respect of ministry, but of ordination and administration of government, and shortly after his death, speaking

of him as our learned Spalatensis, asks, "Why should not I call him ours, who sealed up that truth of ours, which his pen had so stoutly maintained, with his last blood?"

In this same year (1622) Hall preached before His Majesty and the court at Theobalds, in the ordinary course of attendance, his sermon on the Deceit of Appearance. The harvest had been abundant, but there was not more show of plenty in the fields than there was now of scarcity in the streets. The preacher declared the barns and granaries were full, though the markets were empty; and he called upon authority to remedy this dearth in abundance. On February 2nd, 1623, he arraigned at Gray's Inn the Great Impostor, the heart of man (Jer. xvii. 19); and in the course of his remarks found space for the "Simoniacal Patron" (unhappily not even yet a thing of the past), "disposed to make a good match of his people's souls; it shall be no bargain, but a gift: he hath a living to give, but a horse to sell. Sure, I think, in this wise age of the world, usurers and simonists strive who shall find the wittiest way to hell." On the 20th of the same month he preached before Convocation at St. Paul's his great sermon *Columba Noë*, which, delivered in Latin, was, after several attempts by others, translated into English by Robert Hall, who says, "It pleased my father herein to improve my leisure." The subject was 1 Cor. xii. 4: "There are diversities of gifts," etc. Next day there was drawn up at Lambeth, in the name of the bishops and other clergy there assembled, a request that the sermon might be printed. This graceful and playful petition was as follows:—

*" In æde Pauli, dæque Pauli oraculis
 Pro concione prævid Synodo sacræ,
 Varias ab uno Spiritu, Domino, Deo
 Distinctiones esse donorum probans,
 Ostendis, Halle, quanta spiritualium,
 Quam multiformis dōs tibi fluat affatim,
 Charismatumque multiplex peculium.
 Quæ nempe tractas, per tui specimen doces
 Theologe nate pulpitis, calami potens,
 Cui suavitatis conscius semper stilus,
 Cui pectus almi condus est sacrarii,
 Et lingua promus pectoris, cujus latus
 Loquentis ambit auribus rapax cohors,
 Humerisque densa; non sat est semel tua
 Hausisse vocis impetu fugacia,
 Ni perlegendo te recognosci sinas,
 Auri invidet oculus, et Templo schola.
 Nos te, Decane flexanime, quam te recens
 Iam tunc ab ipso ambone redeuntem, manu
 Prensum, rogator vellicavi fervidus
 Manare sineres hæc in absentum sinus
 Reliquisque nostri fratribus Cleri dari.
 Quid mirum? ubi ipsi postmodum cudi typis
 Provinciales postulant Episcopi.*

Audin, Joseph? Nolo jam: te nil peto.

*Non est, amicus quod roget. Domini regunt.
 Parere justum est: parere certum est: age,
 Quam facilis istic obstetricanti labor!
 Post tam verenda jussa quid restat mihi,
 Nisi ut adprecantis suppleam idiotæ locum,
 Amen sacro succinens Patrum choro.*

Lambethæ, Feb. 21. 1623.

Sic approbavit Thomas Goadus, S.T.D."

Just at this time it was being warmly debated whether a Roman bishop *in partibus* should be allowed to reside in England, and, as might be supposed, the relations of Anglicanism to Romanism, and an earnest appeal for peace amongst ourselves, is the staple of the sermon. "They presume," said

Hall, "to erect here amongst us a hierarchy emulous to yours; and in the time of your life and health and vigour appoint what heirs shall succeed to your sees. What wise spectator can think this indignity to be endured? Is this to be smothered in silence? Is this to be longer winked at? Rouse up yourselves, O ye holy Fathers, if there be any ardour of piety in your breasts, and destroy this Tyberine monster (popery I mean) with the breath of your mouths; and whatever grace and authority ye have with our gracious king, with the peers and commons of this realm, improve it all with your best prayers and counsels, to the utter extermination of idolatry, to the happy victory and advancement of the sincere truth of God!" As has already been seen, resistance was unavailing, and the first Roman bishop (Dr. William Bishop) arrived in England. At the beginning of the next year Hall preached the sermon at the reopening of the Countess of Exeter's chapel. The occasion was full of interest. The chapel was built on the site of the choir of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem.* The countess was the daughter of Sir W. Drury, and thus Hall could say:—"Your Honour may justly challenge me on both sides, both by the Drurys, in the right of the first patronage; and by the Cecils, in the right of my succeeding devotions." She showed her esteem of the author, and the value she set upon the sermon, by desiring to print it at her own cost. In 1624, on the death of Dr. Miles Smith, the writer of the preface to the translation of the Bible, the see of

* Vide Fuller, "Ch. Hist.," Book VI.

Gloucester was offered to Hall, who, however, declined it. The death of King James, March 27th, 1625, separated him from one with whom he had been long associated, and for whom, upon some sides of his character, he seems to have entertained a sincere respect. In the first year of Charles. I. the plague broke out with extreme severity. It began in Whitechapel, and, as was said, in the same house, on the same day of the month, with the same number that died twenty-two years before, when Queen Elizabeth departed. Hall, when preaching before the king at Whitehall, took as his subject, "Wickedness making a fruitful land barren." The sermon is remarkable for the clear insight which it exhibits into the nature, and foresight of the consequences, of the policy of the Independents. "Surely, if we grow into that anarchical fashion of independent congregations which I see, and lament to see, affected by too many, not without woful success, we are gone, we are lost, in a most miserable confusion. We shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. I take no pleasure, God knows, to ominate ill to my dear nation, and dear mother the Church of England, for whose welfare and happiness I could contemn my own life; but I speak it in a true sorrow of heart to perceive our danger, and in a zealous precaution to prevent it. O God, in Whose hands the hearts of princes and all the sons of men are, to turn them as the rivers of waters, put it into the heart of our King and Parliament, to take speedy order for the suppression of this wild variety of sects and lawless Independencies, ere it be too late."

In the following January was preached the sermon

at the public thanksgiving for the wonderful mitigation of the late mortality, afterwards published by royal command. It exhibits Hall's usual skillfulness in allusion. "Those two late blessings, if no more, were worthy of immortal memory, the prince out of Spain, religion out of the dust. For the one, what a winter was there in all good hearts, when our sun was gone so far southward! how cheerful a spring on his return! For the other, who saw not how religion began, during those purposely protracted treaties, to droop and languish, her friends to sigh, enemies to insult, daring to brave us with challenges, to threaten our ruin. The Lord looked down from Heaven, and visited this poor vine of His, and hath shaken off these caterpillars from her then wasting leaves. Now we live, and it flourisheth." It is tempting, too, to transcribe Hall's description of the plague, when more than twenty thousand families ran from their houses, as if these had been on fire over their heads, and they seeking shelter in Zoar and the mountains; but space forbids. Nor may we linger any longer with him at Whitehall or Hampton Court, and hear him address the lords and ladies, nor at Gray's Inn lay bare before the learned benchers the fashions of the world, or picture the estate of a Christian. We must hasten to Exeter, the oversight of which see he accepted in 1627, and which now became his home for the next fourteen years.

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CHAPTER XIII.

HALL'S MODERATION.

WHEN Hall accepted the bishopric of Exeter, he had just completed his fifty-third year. His views, therefore, were by this time attaining their full development, his energies were unimpaired, and, except so far as suffering from weakness which called for care rather than betokened disease, he was at his best for the difficult task which lay before him. Before inquiring into his conduct of the diocese, this will be a convenient opportunity for examining the characteristic bent of his mind, and gaining a clear view of the predominant quality which so admirably fitted him for the bench, and contributed so largely to the unequivocal success which he enjoyed.

Hardly anything in his many-sided character is more remarkable than his moderation, and for the most part the even balance of his judgment, all the more deserving of attention when we remember that his earliest years were passed under the ministry of one who stood sponsor for Calvinism at an English font, that he was student and fellow of a college avowedly founded for the propagation of Puritan opinions, and that his manhood was surrounded by furious partisans, clamouring either for the restoration of the old faith, or for the extirpation of the new.

That he did not take up an extreme position, clinging with persistent narrowness to early associations, or allowing himself, like Wadsworth and many others, to be carried away by the undercurrent of reaction ; that he was able in his maturity to be almost a High Churchman, with only the remnants of Calvinism still clinging to him, is striking evidence of the independence of his thought and the charity of his temper. Nor was his moderation the result of indifferentism ; it was the offspring of principles steadily followed, and in general consistently maintained.

In his twelve rules for moderation in judgment we have a synopsis of these principles as they found expression after the moulding influences of a long life, experience of various classes of controversialists, and the constant pressure of changing times. They are as follows :—

“(1) To distinguish of persons. Those poor souls who do zealously walk in a wrong way, wherein they are set by ill guides, may not be put into the same rank with their wicked misleaders. (2) To distinguish between truths weighty and important, and truths slight and merely scholastical. Similarly of errors. (3) To avoid curiosity in the disquisition of truths. (4) To rest in those fundamental truths which are revealed clearly in the Scriptures. (5) To be remiss and facile in unimporting verities, both in our opinion and censure. (6) Not to rely upon an opposite in relating the state of an opinion or person. (7) Not to judge of an adversary's opinion by the inferences pretended to follow upon it. (8) To keep opinions within their own bounds, not imputing private men's conceits to whole Churches. (9) Not to draw the actions or manners of men to the prejudice of their cause. (10) To draw as near as

we safely may to Christian adversaries in cases of lesser differences. (11) To refrain from all railing terms and spiteful provocations in differences of opinion. (12) To compose our affections towards unity and peace, however our judgments differ in lesser verities."

In his letter to Crocius, Professor of Theology at Bremen, written after he became Bishop of Exeter, there is another account of the basis upon which he built his moderation, and of the remedies he was wont to suggest for the procuring of peace in the Church. Crocius was one of the deputies at the Synod of Dort, and out of all who went thither from Bremen was the only survivor. A friendship then began between him and Hall which was never interrupted. Years passed away, and Crocius, having been censured for heterodoxy supposed to lie hid in his work on predestination and other points, he forwarded the book with passages marked, and asked for Hall's opinion. The Bishop cleared his friend from the imputed fault, and, as was natural, reverted to the proceedings of the synod. It appears that after he had been compelled by sickness to retire from its deliberations, a motion had been brought forward to reject certain harsh and inconvenient phrases scattered up and down in the writings of the Reformed doctors. The motion, partly out of regard for the orthodoxy of the authors, partly through a wish to deal tenderly with certain *primipili* then sitting in the synod, was rejected. This Hall deeply deplored, and he could not help expressing his regret that sound doctrine had not been preserved, though at the peril of inconvenient phrases, and the welfare of the Christian republic preferred to the reputation of individuals. The error had resulted in

a widespread crop of evils, all the more lamentable because the truth does not need to be bolstered with unsafe and exaggerated language. Granted that some of the formulæ in question had a literal expression in Holy Scripture, will it follow, he asks, that being, as they are, hyperbolical, we are to adopt them as theological axioms? A man is bidden to put a knife to his throat. Who in his senses would take the command literally? We are told to hate father and mother and our own life. Who would venture to proclaim the doctrine without many qualifications? He would himself have liked, if it were possible, a general council of doctors for the removal of these "sphalmata" of the mind or pen. In his deprecation of a too rigid adherence to the letter of Scripture, a favourite device of heretics, he reminds us of Newman; in this suggestion for a council he was but following Cranmer. Until such a solution were feasible, he recommends all in the interests of peace, *posthabita verborum cura*, to spend their strength, *not upon words, but upon things*. Our chief anxiety should be to find a place for God's truth in the hearts of men. The sweeter and gentler the method of procedure the better. Provided the cure is as speedily effected, he who puts me to the least pain in healing my wound, is most deserving of my friendly regard.

Elsewhere, in a very different connection, with an eye not to the "Five Busy Articles," but to Roman controversy, he says that "it is hard to be too vehement in contending for main and evident truths; but litigious and immaterial verities may soon be overstriven for. In the prosecution whereof I have oft lamented to see how heedless too many have

been of the public welfare ; while in seeking for one scruple of truth, they have not cared to spend a whole pound weight of precious peace." His own practice was, and always had been, to proceed with caution, faith, and sound sense so far as he could command these qualities, lest perchance, while eager for peace, he might mar the integrity of truth or suppress some portion of it. The chief articles of the Christian faith, those upon which salvation depends, ought to be pressed, nothing being considered unimportant, or undeserving of the most strenuous efforts for their defence. But as for points so minute that a man with eyes in his head could scarcely see them, they might be safely disregarded. The holders of them were tending to the same goal along various paths. There was no necessity to note every step. He would, therefore, take refuge from the disputes concerning minor differences in *formulae of wide and general expression, and would not allow discussion to pass the bounds thus fixed.* It may be said that this is far too ideal for most men, and that he who spoke so wisely did not succeed at all times in even moving towards the realisation of his ideal. But when criticism has had its say, the impression will still remain that it would have been well had the advice so given been acted upon, that he who gave it perhaps as much as any man exemplified its value, and that at the present day, if religious partisans would embrace it and hold it fast, there would be an increase of unity in the Church, and less occasion for the ill-judged activity of Church Associationists on the one side, and the self-defensive measures of English Church Unionists on the other.

There are one or two isolated passages in his writings, which, taken by themselves, might be cited to prove that one reputed to be so moderate, was in truth a representative of persecuting zeal and bigoted intolerance. In his sermon on the Hypocrite, preached at the court in February 1630, occurs the following: "We would fly upon a man that should deny a God, with Diagoras; we would burn a man that should deny the Deity of Christ, with Arius; we would rend our clothes at the blasphemy of that man who, with the Epicures and Apelleians, should exempt the cares and operations of God from the things below; we would spit at a man that durst say, There is no power in Godliness." Again, in his "Christian Moderation" (1639), he says that the misreading of the learned commentator, who in the Vulgate rendering of Titus iii. 10 "made two words of one, and turned the verb *vita* into a noun, *de vita*, (*supple, tolle,—put a heretic to death,*)" was, if heretical blasphemy be in question, no real mistaking, though a verbal one, "in which kind Master Calvin did well approve himself to God's Church, in bringing Servetus to the stake at Geneva." At one time, too, he expressed his disapproval of toleration of religions. The meanest corner, he held, was too good for so mutinous a generation as the Brownists. Cassander's plea for toleration had been long since refuted. Our gracious Sovereign James had been importunately solicited, but "his Christian heart held that toleration un-Christian and intolerable." He intimates that Papists and Brownists, like the Canaanites, were pricks and thorns, and, therefore, "both by mulcts and banishments" should be brought either to "yield or avoid." Was, then,

the good Bishop only a fanatic in disguise? It must be borne in mind by way of qualification to what has just been said, that he regarded both the Brownist and the Papist as troublesome political agents, who not only disturbed the Church, but were full of peril to the State. What client of Rome, he asks, was ever sentenced to death by the Reformed Church merely for matter of religion? Instances might perhaps be found of what he denies, and the hands of Protestants might be proved to be imbrued no less than those of Romanists with martyrs' blood; still, it is undeniable of the executions in Elizabeth's time that "treasonable practices, not mere religion," were guilty of them. Further, our author draws the line sharply between heretical blasphemy and heresies, which are either simple, or secondary and consequential; and if he does use such extraordinary language and approve of what must be called Calvin's crime, it must not be forgotten that he was not singular in this respect, but was in company with mild Melancthon, who had expressed his approval of it in a letter to the perpetrator himself. The fact is that religious toleration was not understood until much later. Sir Thomas More had, indeed, in his "Utopia," raised a vision, the insubstantial fabric of which was afterwards demonstrated by the persecuting policy of the great chancellor himself. In France, too, the principle of toleration had been avowed. But the privileges of conscience, Mr. Hallam maintains, had no magna charta and petition of right before 1689; and, though the Toleration Act was a departure in the right direction, even then no part of its protection was afforded to Romanists, or to such as deny the

Trinity. Good Churchmen will perhaps decline again and again to go with Mr. Hallam, but at least his judgment is worthy of respect, and he tells us that "such a genuine toleration as Christianity and philosophy alike demand, had no place in our statute-book before the reign of George III." ("Const. Hist.," iii., p. 171).

To come to details. Misconceptions and misrepresentations of Anglicanism were as common as they were absurd. Where was your Church before Luther? the Romanist asked. What year and day did it come to light? In which age had that other Church lost itself? Why had we withdrawn no farther from Rome? What was become of our forefathers? Which was the religion of the former world? The established religion was taxed with being, to say the least, negative, and, if not untruthful, defective. The very arguments which the writer has heard within the last ten years set forth by a well-informed Romanist of the working class in a back street of a Manchester parish, were being urged with all plausibility, elegance, and eloquence by the cultured Jesuit in the mansions of our county families: *French* "That a Roman Catholic, so living and dying, by our confession may be saved; that there is but one Church, as but one Christ; and that out of this ark there is no way but drowning; that this one Church is more likely to be found in all the world than in a corner, in all ages than in the sixteenth century, in unity than in division." Then came in "the glorious brag of the Roman universality, their inviolate antiquity, their recorded successions, their harmonious unity, their confessed magnificence; that theirs is the Mother Church, as to the rest of Chris-

tendom, so especially to the English; how well a monarchy, the best form of government, beseems the Church; how unlikely it is that Christ would leave his Spouse in the confusion of many heads or of none; what miserable divisions there are in our Protestancy; and what a gleanings are we to the harvest of Christendom." There was no challenge more frequent than that we had left that Church "miscalled our mother," and many, "hoodwinked with this vail of the Church," had left, and were leaving us, to go back to their mother.

*See
note* | The continuity of the Church, as true in itself as it is strategically important to the Anglican polemic, was but imperfectly understood, and, in giving correct views upon this important subject, Hall did signal service. The contradistinction of Protestant and Catholic he studiously ignored. To maintain it is to wrong ourselves. We only protest that we are perfect Catholics. Protestants are "Reformed Catholics." In his sermon before Convocation in 1623 he emphatically asserts, "*Quicquid debacchatur insanus error, Christiani sumus, Catholici sumus.*" Either Christ Himself, the apostles, councils, Fathers erred from the Catholic truth, or we remain Catholics. "Must he of necessity die a Romanist, that would die a Catholic? This is an idle fancy, and worthy of no less than Bedlam." Dr. John King, Dean of Christ Church in 1605, and Bishop of London in 1611, whom King James was wont to style "the king of preachers," and whom Lord Chief Justice Coke often declared to be "the best speaker in the Star Chamber in his time," had died in 1621, and apparently had said that he died a Catholic. It was soon after reported by the

Romanists that he died a member of their Church. It is to this that Hall refers ; and, after vindicating his memory, he concludes, "Noster vixit, noster mortuus est, noster in cœlis coronatur."

The truth was, Rome was a truly visible Church, but unsound ; so he said in 1608, again in 1623, and with the most perfect consistency nearly twenty years after the former date, in 1627. How much obloquy he incurred, by taking up the position, what a storm was raised, and how it was partly laid to rest, is told in the account of his work at Exeter. The Church of Rome was sick, as Cassander confessed. Bernard showed how it ought to be dieted, and treated with profitable though unpleasing medicines. Luther and his associates did the office. He did not mean to take away the life of the Church, but the sickness, and surely, like Socrates, he deserved recompense, instead of rage. The draughts, however, though wholesome, were so bitter that the patient beat the physician and his friends out of doors. *Non fugimus, fugamur*, said Casaubon. The blame of the schism is thus chargeable upon Rome, not upon us. An apologue, recited to the reverend fathers of Convocation, presents the whole question in so clear a light, that it is worth a volume of argument. It is as follows : "A certain man invited to a feast one or two of his friends, and entertained them bountifully. They sat together lovingly ; they ate together ; and were merry one with another. In the second course, as the custom is, the master offereth them wine ; sets before them an apple. Now, a worm had somewhat eaten the apple, and a spider by chance had fallen into the cup ; the guest sees, and baulks it ; the master urgeth him. 'Why don't you eat?'

quoth he ; 'why don't you drink?' 'I dare not,' saith the other ; 'it is not safe to do either ; seest thou not this vermin in the cup, and that in the apple?' 'Tush !' saith the master, 'what so great matter is this? I set it before thee ; I prepared it ; drink it, eat it, at least for my sake.' 'But, suffer me first,' replies the guest, 'to take out this spider, to cut out this worm ; the wine, the apple pleases me well enough ; the spider, the worm, I cannot away with.' 'Away with such over-nice and curious companions!' quoth he again. 'Fie upon thee, thou ungrateful fellow, that dost so little regard my friendship, so contemn my cheer!' and, with that, in a rage, throws the platters and pots in the very face of his guest, and thrusts him out of doors, all wounded."

The most zealous Protestant cannot complain that Hall is lacking in severity towards the faults of Rome. In the "Serious Dissuasion from Popery" is an indictment so unsparing, and so full of holy indignation, that even the late much-beloved and deeply-lamented Bishop Wordsworth could not fail to be satisfied with it. In the title "No Peace with Rome :—wherein is proved that as terms now stand, there can be no reconciliation of the Reformed Religion with the Romish, and that the Romanists are in all the fault ;" and, again, in the dedication of this treatise, when the author bids the true, sound, and holy Church of God spare no tears or prayers to her "desperate sister," but if she stop her ears and harden herself in rebellion against her God, to "forget who she once was, and fly mercilessly upon this daughter of Belial, that vaunts herself proudly in the glory of her munition," it must be confessed the trumpet, though a rude one, as Hall

calls himself, gives no uncertain sound. But if the poor Anglican, with his untutored mind, finding Rome in everything and sniffing it in the wind, expects a patron in Hall, or if the persecuting Evangelical look to him for a prototype, both are doomed to disappointment. These treatises were both written when their author was little more than five-and-thirty ; but even then there are, notwithstanding the asperity with which he spoke, indications of the lenity and sobriety of judgment, which afterwards became so conspicuous in him. It has been seen how he conceded even then a "true visibility" to the Church of Rome. Her boasted unity was an evident delusion :—"The Romish doctors, after all their brags of peace, were to be seen scuffling and grappling together in Bellarmin's own theatre." Her errors, to his mind as to the mind of many others, were novelties, and she herself was heretical. Yet, like Hooker, he applies the term with judicious reserve and wise discretion. Romanists are "neither to be regarded as no heretics, nor yet so palpable as the worst." They are heretical by consequence from their novelties, *e.g.*, by the doctrine of transubstantiation the verity of our Lord's human nature is destroyed. As time went on, a lesson he had learned from the history of the primitive Christians, upon whom impossible crimes of promiscuous lust, of worshipping an ass's head, and such absurd calumniations were fastened by their adversaries, was deeply impressed upon him. The same lesson he had gathered too from Gualter, the Jesuit, and others of his school, who, by imaginary consequences from Reformed doctrine, had made it appear "nothing but a chimerical monster, composed of

devilish lies and hellish heresies." The lesson was—not to judge of an adversary's opinion by the inferences pretended to follow upon it. He approved of Bucer, who gravely says: "It is our part to see, not what doth of itself follow upon any opinion; but what follows in the conscience of those who hold that opinion which we think contrary to a fundamental article." In the "Via Media" he tells us that "every man should be allowed to be his own interpreter, and it is lawful and meet for moderate minds, to make their best use of those savoury and wholesome sentences which fall from the better mood of an adversary." To abandon this rule was to leave divinity, and betake oneself to logic, natural philosophy, and metaphysics. Prejudice and ill-will never said well, and it was a favourite device of an inquisitor "to send a martyr to the stake, ugly dressed, and painted over with devils."

Via Media
and i. be
 "Pertinacity is the only thing that makes an heretic. Let the error be heinous; yet, if there be not a perverse stiffness in the maintenance of it, it amounts not to the crime of heresy. It was a good speech of Erasmus: "I cannot be a heretic unless I will; and, since I neither am nor will be so, I will endeavour to use the matter so, as that I may not be thought to be one." A man should be in necessary truths an oak, in truths indifferent a reed; and he who peaceably lays down the buckler when small matters are in dispute, is better accepted of God than he who lays about him with the greatest ostentation of skill and valour. "In things of this kind, meekness may do God more service than courage. They say milk quenches wild-fire better than any other liquor; and we find, in all

experience, that the pores are better opened with a gentle heat, than with a violent." Macarius was a very holy man, yet (the message from Heaven informed him) he came short of the merit of two women, wives of two brethren, who had lived together fifteen years in one house without the least discord.

The most perfect moderation in judgment and practice is not inconsistent with the most thorough-going denunciation of extremes in either. Unless this be borne in mind, we shall sometimes experience both surprise and pain when we find that Hall uses language and holds views concerning his opponents, which, did we not know the man, would almost warrant a belief that he must have been a narrow-minded bigot. As might be expected, this vehemence is exhibited far more at an early period of his career than at a later, and towards Rome more than towards others whom he combated. Certainly, he was not indebted to his adversaries for either courtesy or tender treatment, and even at his fiercest, as is shown elsewhere, he contrasts favourably with them. Still, this does not excuse the tone of the "Quo Vadis?" nor does the fact that England was plagued with Jesuits, and that an English Jesuit, like an English viper, was the worst of his kind; nor that he may have been recording the sincere but imperfect impressions of travel; nor that what he said was true of the time before Rome had reformed herself, and that the leaven of reformation had not yet spread. "The Searcher of all hearts," he says, "before Whose tribunal I shall once come to give an account of this censure (*i.e.*, of travel), knows that I speak it not maliciously. Him I call to witness that I could

not find any true life of religion amongst those that would be Catholics. I meddle not with the errors of speculations, or school-points, wherein their judgment palpably offendeth ; I speak of the lively practice of piety. What have they amongst them but a very outside of Christianity, a mere formality of devotion ?" In the churches the poor ignorant laity saying they knew not what, hearing they knew not what, doing they knew not what, were taught to think " this sacrifice of fools meritorious." As for the priests, whom he calls their " chemarim, the sacred actors in this religious scene," there was but " idle apishness in their solemnest work, and either mockery or slumbering." In the religious houses was a " trade of careless and lazy holiness ; hours observed, because they must, not because they would. What did the inmates but " lull piety asleep with their heartless and sleepy vespers ?" He could see no difference between the image and the suppliant. If the latter could " hear his beads knock upon each other, he was not bid to care for hearing his prayers reflect upon heaven. In all things belonging to God the work done sufficeth, yea meriteth ; and what need the heart be wrought upon for a task of the hand ?" He found much austerity, the haircloth, whip, and hurdle ; but true mortification he could not find. " What papist in all Christendom hath ever been heard to pray daily with his family, or to sing but a Psalm at home ?" The Decalogue was professedly broken ; idolatry was an ordinary practice, and oaths were frequent. " Who ever saw God's day duly kept in any city, village, household under the jurisdiction of Rome ? Who sees not how foul sins pass for venial ; and how easily venial sins

pass their satisfaction ; for which a cross, or a drop of holy water is sufficient amends?" There is manifest exaggeration in all this. Forgetting, or rather not having yet formulated, his own rules, he *did* expect us to rely upon an opposite, in relating the state of an opinion or person, and did not at all times refrain from railing terms and spiteful provocations in differences of religion. But if this be so, he was not singular, and it is hard measure to impute to the ripened fruit the sourness of its early growth.

That Hall was a "good" Churchman cannot be denied. His answer to the question of the constitution and government of the Church was that of Richer, "the late eyesore of the Sorbonne :"—The *State* of the Church is monarchical, the *Regiment* aristocratical. The *State* is absolutely monarchical in Christ, dispensatively monarchical in respect of particular Churches, forasmuch as that power which is inherent in the Churches is dispensed and executed by some prime ministers, like as the faculty of seeing given to the man is exercised by the eye. As to the aristocratical *Regiment*, a general Council is the native senate of the Church, and has power to enact canons for the wielding of this great body. As to our own Church :—"The Church and State, if they be two, yet they are twins, and that so, as either's evil proves mutual. The sins of the city not reformed blemish the Church. Where the Church hath power, and in a sort comprehends the State, she cannot wash her hands of tolerated disorders in the commonwealth." Salvation is to be found only in the Church, and the mark whereby the Church is known is episcopal government. The power of the bishops

- certainly does not extend to the angels, but all below the angels are liable to their spiritual charge. These points are so clearly and forcibly stated in the Hospital Sermon of Easter week, 1618, that I quote the passage *in extenso*. "Christ gave us the keys (for that which the Romanists would plead out of Origen, of *claves cæli*, the keys of heaven, to the rest, and *claves cælorum*, the keys of heavens, to Peter, is a distinction without a difference), what becomes of them? That I may not say, on some of our hands they are suffered to rust for want of use; on others, as the pontificians, the wards are altered, so as they can neither open nor shut; sure I am, that if they be not lost on their behalf, whether in disuse or abuse, the power of them is lost in the hearts of many. They have secret picklocks of their own making, Presumption and Security, whereby they can open heaven gates, though double-locked by our censures, and shut the gates of hell at pleasure, which their own sins have opened wide to receive them. What use is there of us, but in our chair? and there but to be heard and seen? Even in this sense *spectaculo facti sumus*, we are to gaze on, not to employ. *Now ye are full, now ye are rich; ye reign as kings without us; we are weak, ye are strong; ye are honourable, we are despised*. It was well noted by one, that the good father of the Prodigal, though he might himself have brought forth the prime robe, or have led his son into his
- wardrobe to take it, yet commands his servants to bring it forth—*proferte stolam*—because he would have his son beholden to his servants, for their glory. *It is a bold word, but a true one, 'Ye shall never wear His long white robe, unless His servants, your ministers,*

bring it, and put it on. He that can save you without us, will not save you, but by us. He hath not tied Himself to means, man he hath. He could create you immediately by Himself; but He will have you begotten by the immortal seed of your spiritual fathers. Woe be to you, therefore, if our word have lost the power of it in you! you have lost your right in heaven. Let us never come there, if you can come thither ordinarily without us.'" Ecclesiastical discipline and the functions of the priesthood were to Hall realities, nor, one may suppose, would he have been deterred from speaking the truth by the nickname of sacerdotalist.

The step from this to the obligation of Church ordinances is an easy one. True, he deprecates an extreme of opinion which would equal them with the Law of God; but he equally condemns the other extreme which ascribes too little to them, either slighting their obligation as if they were no tie to our obedience, or extending it only to the outward man, not the inward. "We must," he says, "learn to walk a midway betwixt both, and know that the good laws of our superiors do in a sort reach to the very conscience; though not primarily and immediately as theirs, yet mediately and secondarily as they stand in reference to the Law of God with our obedience to His instituted authority; and, therefore, they tie us, in some sort, besides the case whether of scandal or contempt." To break good laws, even though there be no witness and so no scandal, or no intention of affront to the commanding power, and, therefore, no contempt, was nevertheless "sin, because disobedience. For example:—I dine fully alone out of wantonness upon a day sequestered by authority

to a public fast. I dine alone,—therefore, without scandal; out of wantonness,—therefore, not out of contempt. Yet I offend against Him that seeth in secret notwithstanding my solitariness; and my wantonness is by Him construed as a contempt to the ordainer of authority." (v. 372.)

Assuming episcopal government to be the *mark of the Church*, upon what does its *unity depend*? "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." "What Church hath one Lord, Jesus Christ the Righteous; one *faith in that Lord*; one baptism into that faith, it is the one Dove of Christ. One faith abridges all." This faith is evidently not *subjective*, for he describes it as "the main fundamental doctrine of religion, necessary to be known, to be believed unto salvation." A golden and useful distinction must, however, be observed between Christian articles and theological conclusions. Christian articles are the principles of religion, necessary to a believer; theological conclusions are school-points, fit for the discourse of a divine. Those articles are few and essential; these conclusions are many, and unimporting (upon necessity) to salvation either way. So far all is clear and consistent; but when we come to details, it is doubtful whether Hall is consistent with either his canon relating to the mark of the Church, or with that respecting her unity. "That Church, then," he says, "which holds those Christian articles both in terms and necessary consequences, as every visible Church of Christ doth, however it vary in these theological conclusions, is *Columba una*." And again, "Since we are one, why are we sundered? One says, I am Luther's for consubstantiation; another, I am Calvin's for discipline; another, I am Arminius's for pre-

destination ; another, I am Barrow's or Brown's for separation. These things, though they do not vary religions and Churches, yet they trouble the unity of the Church." But even conceding Luther, Calvin, Arminius, Barrow, and Brown to be agreed as to the "principles of religion necessary to a believer," whatever these may be ; and further, to have laid to rest the stormy differences of their individual opinions, it is difficult to see how they can dwell together in unity under the sheltering branches of episcopacy. If the Church is to be so comprehensive, some other scientific frontier must be sought. The picture was too ideal ever to be realised. Hall's kindly heart and love of peace made him Utopian. Lutheran consubstantiation and Arminian predestination might as theological opinions be tolerated ; even Calvinism, if not too obtrusive and the discipline were not insisted on, might be winked at ; but Barrow and Brown could not possibly have a *locus standi* within the Established Church, nor could Calvinism, except at the cost of virtual self-annihilation. How incompatible Lutheranism and Calvinism were with one another when fully developed had been proved as far back as the Diet of Marburg : seven years since Calvinism had trampled on Arminianism at Dort ; Brownists and Barrowists ere long showed their power for evil upon both Church and State. 167.

His moderation is strikingly manifested in his allowed use of terms. He freely admitted ("Old Religion," ch. v., sect. 1) that nothing was more ordinary with the Fathers than to call God's table an altar, the holy elements an oblation, the act of celebration an immolation, the actor a priest. He

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certainly taught a real presence in 1611 ("No Peace with Rome," sec. 4)—"that the true body of Christ is truly offered and *truly received* in the sacrament, which of us hath not constantly taught and defended?" The presence, however, was not corporal, carnal, oral. He approves the position of Arius Montanus, who, upon Luke xxiii., *This is My body*, says, *That is, My body is sacramentally contained in this sacrament of bread. The secret and most mystical manner whereof God will once vouchsafe more clearly to unfold to His Christian Church.* Twenty years afterwards appeared his tract explaining the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament, written, it is said, for the satisfaction of a scrupulous friend. In this he states that there are but two ways in which He can be imagined to be present and received—either corporally, or spiritually. "That He should be corporally present at once in every part of every Eucharistical element throughout the world, is such a monster of opinion, as utterly overthrows the truth of His human body, destroys the nature of a sacrament, implies a world of contradictions, baffles right reason, transcends all faith, and, in short, confounds heaven and earth." In support of the spiritual presence he quotes the exhortations, and infers that by the judgment of our Church, if we look upon, and take, these sacred elements as the pledges of our Saviour's love to us, and remembrances of His death for us, "we shall not need, neither indeed can we require, to set any other value upon them." Did he, then, regard the elements as mere signs? No. The words just cited are only a general statement, the Eucharistic creed in brief, necessary as a minimum for all, and sufficient for

all, if held with the reserve of full and enlightened knowledge. His own view was that afterwards so admirably formulated by Bishop Cosin,—that the elements are “transferring symbols.” “What,” he asks, “do we receive inwardly? We are made partakers of His most Blessed Body and Blood. By what means doth this come about? by virtue of our Saviour’s holy institution. Still, it is bread and wine in respect of the nature and essence of it; but so, that in the spiritual use of it it conveys to the faithful receiver the body and blood of Christ; bread and wine is offered to my eye and hand, and Christ is tendered to my soul.” Had Hall stopped here, few probably would have been able to take exception. It is when he proceeds to show *how* the soul receives Christ that he is perhaps not altogether satisfactory. The soul, he held, was not capable of receiving flesh and blood, but by the power of that grace of faith which appropriates it. Our hearts feed upon the body of Christ by faith, and the feeding upon Christ is “but a comfortable application of Christ and His benefits to our souls,” that is, when by the merits and death of our Blessed Saviour, and through faith in His blood, we obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of His passion, and are fulfilled with His grace and heavenly benediction. Evidently the full significance of the Incarnation was not realised by him, and the difference between Eucharistic feeding and any simple act of faith was but one of degree. “Whosoever brings Christ home to his soul by the act of his faith, makes a private meal of his Saviour; but here (in Holy Communion) by virtue of that necessary union which our Saviour’s institution hath

made betwixt the sign and the thing signified, the faithful communicant doth partake of Christ in a more peculiar manner ; now his very senses help to nourish his soul ; and by his eyes, his hands, his taste, Christ is spiritually conveyed into his heart, to his unspeakable and everlasting consolation." It would have been better not to attempt to explain in detail what will never be explained until we know what a soul is, and how far the power of God extends. But when all has been said that can be said against particular points of the Bishop's exposition, the following passage may fitly be placed by the side of Hooker's famous utterance upon the same subject : "In the sacrament of the Blessed Eucharist, Christ is only present and received in a spiritual manner : so as nothing is objected to our senses, but the elements, nothing but Christ to our faith. And, therefore, it is requisite we should here walk with a wary and even foot, as those that must tread in the midst, betwixt profaneness and superstition ; not affixing a Deity upon the elements, on the one side ; nor on the other slighting them with a common regard ; not adoring the creatures, nor basely esteeming their relation to that Son of God, Whom they do really exhibit to us."

It is perhaps in his treatment of Eucharistic sacrifice that most disappointment is experienced. The true body of Christ is truly offered, he admits (1611), but then he adds, *We will gladly receive our Saviour, offered by Himself to His Father, and offered to us by His Father : we will not offer Him to His Father.* Too epigrammatically he says ("Old Religion," ch. v., sec. 1), "it sounds not more prodigiously that a priest should every day make his God, than that

he should sacrifice Him." In what sense, then, could he hold there was a sacrifice? He describes it as "a remembrance of a sacrifice, from which arises another sacrifice, the sacrifice of praise, and from thence a true peace-offering of the Christian soul." To negative the Roman position, he appeals to reason for the truth of what Bellarmin, in order to support consumption by the priest as an essential part of the sacrifice, conceded,—that there must be in every sacrifice a destruction of the thing offered. But how is this consistent with his own position? Is the offering of praise, or the peace-offering of the soul, capable of destruction? He does not appear to have seen that a remembrance of a sacrifice is not a sacrifice (unless the mere act of recollection be regarded as such), and that, as Jeremy Taylor pointed out, *we can offer Christ to the Father as once offered*.

As regards the number of the sacraments, he held that "so as the word sacrament may be taken for any holy, significant rite, there may be as well seventy as seven; so strictly as it may be, and is, taken by us, there can be no more seven than seventy!" ("Old Relig.," ch. xi., sec. 1). None but Christ, he urges, can make a sacrament; for none but He, Who can give grace, can ordain a sign and seal of grace. Starting from this position he shows that seven sacraments are beside Scripture, and what is not so easy to establish, against reason. Of the sacraments or sacramentals one attracted a large share of his attention, and especially towards the close of his life. Incidentally we have an account of "the over-eager and tumultuous affectation, wherewith it was wont, not very long since, to be prosecuted in some parts,

the western especially (Cornwall and Devon) of this Church. It cannot be spoken with what fervour and violence of desire, that people were wont to sue for the sacred ceremony. What fair-like confluences have we there seen of zealous ambients! How have we been tired with the importunity of suitors, impatient of either denial or delay! How have we been oppressed with the throngs of the multitude stirring for the first admission! Insomuch as we have been forced to call for the help of officers to our rescue from that well-meant impetuosity." In all this there may have been some superstition, and certainly there was an overvaluation of the rite which was made to "overtop the acknowledged sacrament of baptism." But the greatest part of the nation had come to be far enough from being guilty of that offence, and not only in England, but in all the Reformed Churches, an apostolical institution was palpably neglected. The very name of it had grown odious to the ears of those who professed the strictest godliness, and the practice of it was cried down and hooted at as merely superstitious and unChristian. With Hooker he deemed that the people were not alone to blame. The fathers of the Church, perhaps discouraged with the coldness of some and the opposition of others, and having an eye to their own peace, were content silently to let fall the frequent and regular performance of that which their hearts allowed. Matters had improved after the early years of James I., but later, while, as has been said, the episcopal benediction was sought in some parts with so much heat, that it was not possible to be given except in a breathless and tumultuary way, in others there wanted heads on which hands should be imposed.

The evils arising from such neglect were as manifest as they were numerous, the benefits beyond dispute. It was under these circumstances, and with such feelings, that Hall dedicated to God's faithful people everywhere his short treatise on the "Imposition of Hands." "I durst not," he says, "but impart these thoughts to the world before I leave it; humbly recommending them to the serious consideration of all well-affected Christians; who shall soon find, upon these poor suggestions, how happy it were, if, in this case, we should walk with an even foot, in the midway betwixt Romish superstition and profane neglect." And what was his rationale of the rite? The bishops, as the successors of the apostles, could in virtue of Matt. xxviii. 20 do what the apostles did; the life of the holy ceremony consisted in their faithful prayers, according to the practice of the apostles themselves, who, though miraculously gifted, yet aided still their hand with their tongue; devoutly suing for what they intended to give. Though the bishop cannot work miracles, yet he can pray; neither did the ordinary pastors that succeeded the apostles expect any other issue of their hands imposed, yet still imposed their hands. Was it better to be like them in acting and approving the laying on of hands, or like some "hesternal" teachers, that refused and disallowed it?

Full and forced sacramental confession he regarded as needless, dangerous, and impossible. But within due bounds confession was of "singular use and behoof," "nothing could be more useful, more sovereign," and the neglect thereof certainly not a little disadvantageous to the souls of many good Christians. The Romish laity made either oracles

or idols of their ghostly fathers ; in making cyphers of ours he hardly knew whether we were more injurious to them or ourselves. For their own good he advised those for whom he wrote ("Cases of Conscience," dec. iii., case 9) to be more intimate with, and less reserved from, those whom God had set over them. What power did he attach to absolution ? The power bestowed by our Lord's commission (John xx. 23) was not given only to the governors of the Church for ecclesiastical censures, but to all God's faithful ministers, in relation to the sins of men. The power, it is true, is limited and ministerial as opposed to sovereign and absolute, but absolution is not a bare verbal declaration which, he says, might proceed from any other lips, but in the way of an *operative and effectual application*. "The absolution, therefore, of an authorised person must needs be of greater force and efficacy than of any private man, how learned or holy soever, since it is grounded upon the institution and commission of the Son of God, from which all power and virtue is derived to all His ordinances, and we may well say that whatsoever is in this case done by God's minister (the key not erring) is ratified in heaven." This is definite. Nor is he less emphatic as to the *secrecy* of the confessional. "I should hold and confess," he says, "that if a man should come in the anguish of his soul for some sin, to unload his heart secretly to the bosom of his minister, to whom he looks for counsel and comfort, if in such a case that minister should reveal that sin to any other whosoever, *no death were torment enough for such a spiritual perfidiousness.*"

In dealing with prayer for the dead, the Bishop would concede that of old time there had been some use of it, but not the Romish. He quotes Bellarmin's statement of the question :—"What dead men are helped by our prayers? It is certain that they profit not, either the blessed or the damned souls; the former need them not, the latter cannot be aided by them. *Solum iis prosunt, qui sunt in purgatorio,*" and quaintly adds, "and let them keep that breath to blow that fire." For himself, he would bestow his prayers upon the living, and if reference were made to the dead, such prayers would be no other than the "congratulations of their joys present, and the testimonies of the hope and desire of their future resurrection, and consummation of blessedness, together with all the glorious saints of heaven." This is satisfactory upon one side; but what of the vast number concerning whom we are in doubt? Did not the Bishop see that prayer may be offered for the increase of the bliss, or the diminution of the misery of the departed, while holding fast an eternity of rewards or punishments? If he did see it, did he regard it as a suspicious refinement, and a perhaps philosophically untenable position? I am not aware that he elsewhere speaks with more precision.

Any lack of precision, however, in this respect is compensated by the distinctness of his views respecting virginity. Like Gerson he does not call it a virtue, but holds it to be cousin-german to a virtue. Earth affords nothing more glorious than eunuchism for the Kingdom of Heaven, which is, therefore, commended by our Saviour, not as a thing merely arbitrary, by

way of advice, but of charge to the able : *Qui potest capere, capiat*. After Chrysostom he says, "Virginity is good, I yield it; and better than marriage, I confess it." Every man, therefore, not ecclesiastics only, should labour and strive to aspire unto this state as the better, using all holy means both to attain and to continue it. Young persons "not so much as advising with their own abilities," who without any endeavour and ambition of so worthy a condition leap rashly into the bands of wedlock, are blamable. Yet, though every man must reach for it, every man cannot attain to it. "Those which are, upon good trial, conscious to themselves of God's call to this estate, and His gift enabling them unto it, may lawfully make profession thereof to the glory of the Giver; and, if need be, may vow, God continuing the same grace unto them, a holy perpetuation thereof to their end; the observation whereof, if they, through their own neglect, shall let fall, they cannot be excused from sin or freed from censure." He stoutly maintains elsewhere that he never derogated ought from sacred virginity, or laid it level, whether absolutely or in all circumstances, with holy matrimony, nor ever conceived of an impossibility of continence in some persons. Certain self-evident abuses removed, together with idleness, superstition, necessity, he would go with Cassander in not disallowing the monastic life. Indeed, our colleges were, he considered, "certain sacred *ἀσκητήρια*, monastical academies, wherein we may be maturely fitted for these holy services of God and His Church." All this is as moderate as it is clear, and had Hall lived in these days, he would as warmly have welcomed the aid of sisterhoods and of clergymen living in

community in our large parishes, as he would have earnestly deprecated the secularisation of our universities, and the application of their funds to almost anything except "the holy services of God and His Church."

An evolution of Divine truth, or at any rate a progressiveness therein, was not to the mind of Hall so impossible a conception as it is to some. To deny such progressiveness appeared to him to be such a shutting of the hand of a munificent God that He could not bestow upon the Church "new illuminations in some parcels of formerly hidden verities." There is a place, too, according to him, for tradition, but traditions of ceremony, of history, of interpretation, of some immaterial verities, the due honour of Scripture being preserved.

By fasting he understood a true and serious maceration of our bodies by an absolute and total refraining from sustenance; in itself it is not an act pleasing to God, yet in the effect it is. He describes it as *singulare sanctitatis aratrum*. The plough bears no corn, but it makes way for it, it opens the soil, it tears up the briars, and turns up the furrows. So it is with holy abstinence; it chastises the flesh, it lightens the spirit, it disheartens our vicious disposition, it quickens our devotions (1628). This is sufficient proof that he was prepared to do full justice to the ascetic element of religion. But still more plainly he declares that it is a sad and austere thing to be a Christian. "This work is not frolic, jovial, plausible; there is a certain thing, called true mortification. Christianity demands abstinence, humiliation, contrition of heart, subjugation of our flesh, renunciation of our wills, *serious*

impositions of laboursome devotions." Will some one venture to stigmatise this tone of mind as Puritan? If the criticism be correct, then Puritanism and Romanism in practice, whatever may be the truth about their theory, are essentially the same.

Of a beggarly worship he was no patron. In his apology against Brownists he thus replies to his opponents:—"What house can be too good for the Maker of all things? As God is not affected with state, so is He not delighted in baseness. If the pomp of the temple were ceremonial, yet it leaves this morality behind it, that God's house should be decent. And what if goodly? If we did put holiness in the stones, as you do uncleanness, it might be sin to be costly. Let me tell you, there may be as much pride in a clay wall as in a carved. Proud majesty is better than proud baseness. The stone or clay will offend in neither; we may in both. If you love cottages, the ancient Christians, with us, loved to have God's house stately, as appears by the example of that worthy Bishop of Alexandria, and that gracious Constantine, in whose days these sacred piles began to lift up their heads unto this envied height. Take you your own choice; give us ours; let us neither repine nor scorn at each other" (*vide* further "Decency in Worship").

Such were Hall's views upon a variety of subjects, which, so far from having passed into the limbo of theological controversy, are as fully engaging the minds of men now as they were two centuries and a half ago. A large portion of his polemical writings have no points of contact with modern thought; many of the enemies he combated are long since



dead and buried ; some of the opinions so fiercely contested may now be regarded as speculative fancies, to be held in the intellectual balance, and regarded with a curious rather than a devotional eye. But such topics as confirmation, the real presence, celibacy, confession, prayer for the dead, the order and decency of Divine worship, as long as our formularies last, must force themselves upon the attention, and demand a recognition or denial. To some, perhaps, Hall's moderation will be at least an indication of the truth. To all the spirit by which he was animated cannot fail to commend itself. " My brethren, let our care be to study and preach Christ, and Him crucified ; to work the souls of men to faith, repentance, piety, justice, charity, temperance, and all other heavenly virtues ; that they may find cordial testimonies in themselves of their happy predestination to life, and their infallible interest in the precious blood of their Redeemer. Let us beat down those sins in them which make them obnoxious to everlasting damnation, and strip them of all comfortable assurances of the favour of God. Let us not indiscreetly spend our time and pains in distracting their thoughts with those scholastical disquisitions, whereof the knowledge or ignorance makes nothing to heaven. The way to blessedness is not so short that we should find leisure to make outroads into needless and unprofitable speculations. Never treatise could be more necessary in this curious and quarrelous age, than ' De Paucitate Credendorum.' The infinite subdivisions of those points which we advance to the honour of being the objects of our belief, confound our thoughts and mar our peace. Peaceable dis-

course may have much latitude, but matter of faith should have narrow bounds. If, in the other, men will abound in their own sense, always let unity of spirit be held in the bond of peace. Since God hath given us change of raiment and variety of all intellectual provisions, as Joseph said to his brethren, let me to mine. Let us *not fall out by the way*. Now, by the dear bonds of brotherhood, by our love to our common mother the Church, by our holy care and zeal of the prosperous success of the gospel of our Lord Jesus, let us all compose our hearts to peace; and rest ourselves in those common truths, which sober minds shall find abundantly sufficient, whether for our knowledge or salvation" ("Via Media").

Note to page 259.—Edmund Richer, born 1560; became Grand Master of the college of Le Moine, and afterwards Syndic of the Faculty of Divinity at Paris. In consequence of his treatise on the "Civil and Ecclesiastical Power," hostile to the Papal authority, he was deposed and sent to prison, whence he was not released until he had submitted. He died November 29th, 1631.



CHAPTER XIV (1627—37).

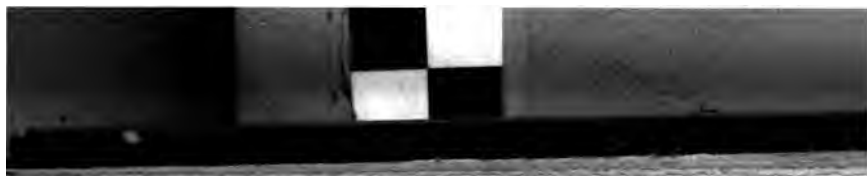
BISHOP OF EXETER.

HALL had already, it will be remembered, "with much humble deprecation," refused the see of Gloucester. It was in 1627 that the bishopric of Exeter was offered to him. This he was willing to accept, but was nearly defeated of his expectations by the opposition of Buckingham. The duke at this time, fortunately for Hall, was absent from England, conducting the expedition at the Island of Rhé, but as it was he wrote letters which, had they arrived only a few hours sooner, would have effectually stopped the intended promotion. What share Laud had in this is not easy to decide. His influence was rapidly growing, and the Church already, through the king and Buckingham, was to a great extent under his control. He was not likely to approve of an appointment which seemed to sanction moderation and to discredit his own uncompromising policy. Still, it is fair to say that, when the Archbishop on his trial was taxed with giving preferment "only to such men as were for ceremonies, popery, and Arminianism," he replied that it was known he preferred Bishop Hall to Exeter, and in the absence of proof to the contrary this must be taken in its literal sense. The consecration took place December 23rd, 1627, the revenues

of the see being supplemented with the Rectory of St. Breok, then worth about £300 a year, now of the gross value of £1,150.

"I entered upon that place not without much prejudice and suspicion on some hands; for some, that sat at the stern of the Church, had me in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. I soon had intelligence who were set over me for espials. My ways were curiously observed, and scanned. However, I took the resolution to follow those courses which might most conduce to the peace and happiness of my new and weighty charge. Finding, therefore, some factious spirits (popish agents) very busy in that diocese, I used all fair and gentle means to win them to good order; and therein so happily prevailed, that, saving two of that numerous clergy who continuing in their refractoriness fled away from censure, they were all perfectly reclaimed: so as I had not one minister professedly opposite to the anciently received orders (for I was never guilty of urging any new impositions) of the Church in that large diocese." Thus suggestively writes the Bishop.

The courses which were adopted by the Bishop in his new and trying position are admirably set forth in the address he issued to his charge. His policy was conciliatory, his administration vigorous; on the one hand he was not a reckless innovator, nor, on the other, a lover of ancient slovenliness and old stagnation; his rule was characteristically paternal. In his sermon before Convocation in 1623, as it were by anticipation, he described what the Bishop of Exeter was to be: "Ye are fathers of the Church, but sons of the Bridechamber; peers of the State,



but servants of the Church ; generals of this warfare, but with St. Paul *fellow-soldiers* ; rulers in God's house, but withal *fellow-servants*. Intreat your clergy kindly ; use them familiarly, as knowing yourselves to be fathers in dignity, brethren in service. No spectacle can be more odious than a proud prelate." It would have been well no less for the peace of the Church, than for the comfort of the clergy, if bishops at all times had been conformed to this ideal. For himself, he was able to say long after he had attained episcopal rank, "As for rule, if we affect any but fatherly, and moderate, and such as must necessarily be required for the conservation of peace and good order in the Church of God, we do not deprecate a censure. We know how to bear humble minds in eminence of places ; how to command without imperiousness, and to comply without exposing our places to contempt" ("Episcopacy by Divine Right," part ii., sec. 91).

In setting before his clergy the main lines on which he intended to work, he said that, if report did not overspeak them, there were not many soils that yielded either so frequent flocks, or better fed ; and he directed their attention chiefly to two points—the tender pastures, and the still waters. It would be their aim to be exponents of wholesome doctrine. He insisted much upon the necessity of catechising, which, homely though it might be, was the most useful of all preaching. He himself had spent, he said, the greater half of his life in the service of the pulpit, he thanked God not unpainfully, not unprofitably ; but there was nothing he regretted so much, as not to have bestowed more hours in the public exercise of catechising ; in

regard whereof he could quarrel with his very sermons, and wish that a great part of them had been exchanged for this preaching conference. The soundness of this principle is evident when we bear in mind that knowledge was not then so widely diffused as now, and that the pulpits were the forges of theological thunderbolts rather than storehouses of the food of sores. Catechising was then the most valuable instrument Hall could find for the dissemination of sound doctrine, and for recovery from the errors of Romanism ; in our own day its value has been no less fully recognised.

In bringing their flocks to still waters, he commended to the shepherds zeal moderated with discretion and charitable care for the common good, but deprecated contention for "litigious and immaterial verities," and regretted that for one scruple of truth a whole pound weight of precious peace should be lost. "The Church of England, in whose motherhood we have all just cause to pride ourselves, hath, in much wisdom and piety, delivered her judgment concerning all necessary points of religion in so complete a Body of Divinity, as all hearts may rest in. These we read, these we write under, as professing, not their truth only, but their sufficiency also. The voice of God our Father, in His Scriptures, and out of these the voice of the Church our Mother, in her articles, is that which must both guide and settle our resolutions. Whatsoever is beside these, is but either private, or unnecessary and uncertain. Oh ! that while we sweat and bleed for the maintenance of these oracular truths, we could be persuaded to remit of our heat in the pursuit of opinions. These, these

are they that distract the Church, violate our peace, scandalise the weak, advantage our enemies. Fire upon the hearth warms the body ; but, if it be misplaced, burns the house. My brethren, let us be zealous for our God ; every hearty Christian will pour oil, and not water, upon this holy flame. But let us take heed, lest a blind self-love, stiff prejudice, and factious partiality impose upon us, instead of the causes of God. Let us be suspicious of all new verities, and careless of all unprofitable. And let us hate to think ourselves either wiser than the Church, or better than our superiors. And, if any man think that he sees farther than his fellows in these theological prospects, let his tongue keep the counsel of his eyes, lest, while he affects the fame of deeper learning, he embroil the Church, and raise his glory upon the public ruins." Those to whom some of the Bishop's views are by no means acceptable, will probably admit that it would be hard to find wiser rules for either private conduct, or for minimising the evils attendant on the inevitable conflict of opinions.

The following letter, written in the year following his consecration, is an instance and illustration of the vigour and resolution with which the Bishop conducted the affairs of the diocese :—

"Exon, *October 4th.*

"TO SIR RICHARD BULWER, KNIGHT.

"I could not but thus suddenly express my zeal for the common safety and care of your indemnity in an occurrent related to me this hour by my chaplain, Mr. Nansogge. It should seem he lately acquainted you with certain dangerous speeches uttered by no mean recusant, in the presence of very able witnesses, importing no less than

the utter and speedy ruin of this whole State and Church, the particulars whereof I have here enclosed. I hope well that you were so sensible of the peril hereof, that you have already seized upon the party, one Mr. Trevillian, and diligently examined the matter unto the bottom ; as knowing how unsafe it is for any commissioner for the peace to sleep under the notice of so seditious language ; if not, let me advise you without all delay to do it *cum effectu*. The gentleman is known to be such, as that if there were not some great confidence in him of the issue, he neither would nor durst let fall such speeches ; the sifting whereof may be the prevention of more mischief than we can apprehend. Contenting myself to have laid this earnest charge upon you (since myself am not as yet in the commission, at least not sworn in it), I take my leave, and will think long to know the success of your present and careful inquisition.

“Your much devoted friend,

“JOS. EXON.

“If the speeches are justified, you know best what to do ; it is not for me to advise you ; but I should think you could do no less than send to the council-table about it.”

It is not surprising that this gentleness without dulness, and strength without rage, should result in a diocese at unity in itself. How far this unity was purchased at the price of disagreement with the ruling authorities, we shall have to consider a little later in the history ; but it may be here premised, that from the testimony of Laud himself, if the Bishop's writings did not testify so much, it is abundantly clear that Hall, if discreet, was not rebellious, and, if slow to “urge new impositions,” was no enemy to safe progress. There was eventually peace at Exeter, but the opening years of Hall's rule were

exceedingly stormy. We have seen that those who sat at the stern of the Church had Hall in great jealousy for too much favour of Puritanism. It was no less true that those who sat at the stern of Puritanism had him in as great jealousy—and with as little cause—for too much favour of Rome. Alas ! poor Bishop ! It is the lot of all thoughtful men who will not run to the same excess of riot in opinion as their fellows. How this came about he shall himself show.

“Some insolent Romanists, Jesuits especially, in their bold disputations (which, in the time of the treaty of the Spanish match and the calm of that relaxation, were very frequent), pressed nothing so much as a catalogue of the professors of our religion to be deduced from the primitive times ; and, with the peremptory challenge of the impossibility of this pedigree, dazzled the eyes of the simple ; while some of our learned men, undertaking to satisfy so heedless and unjust a demand, gave, as I conceived, great advantage to the adversary. In a just indignation to see us thus wronged by misstating the question betwixt us, as if we, yielding ourselves of another Church, originally and fundamentally different, should make good our own erection upon the ruins, yea, the nullity of theirs ; and well considering the infinite and great inconveniences that must needs follow upon this defence, I adventured to set my pen on work, desiring to rectify the opinions of those men whom an ignorant zeal had transported to the prejudice of our holy cause : laying forth the damnable corruptions of the Roman Church, yet making our game of the outward visibility thereof ; and, by this means, putting them to the probation of those newly obtruded corruptions which are truly guilty of the breach betwixt us. The drift whereof being not well conceived by some spirits that were not so wise as fervent, I was suddenly exposed to the rash censures of many well

affected and zealous Protestants ; as if I had, in a remission to my wonted zeal to the truth, attributed too much to the Roman Church, and strengthened the adversaries' hands, and weakened our own. This envy I was fain to take off by my speedy 'Apologetical Advertisement ;' and, after that, by my 'Reconciler,' seconded with the unanimous letters of such reverend, learned, sound divines, both bishops and doctors, as whose undoubtable authority was able to bear down calumny itself. Which done, I did, by a seasonable moderation, provide for the peace of the Church, in silencing both my defendants and challengers, in this unkind and ill-raised quarrel."

The treatise referred to in the above extract, and to which was given the name of "The Old Religion," was published immediately after the author was made bishop, together with a preface dedicating it to his "new and dearly affected charge." His most and best hours he declared had been passed in quiet meditation, wherein he had no adversary except Satan and his own corruptions. Controversial topics he had rather crossed in his way than taken along with him. He did not profess to make any essential additions to the subjects he handled, but compared himself to one tracing small obscure inlets where the lands and rivers were already mapped out. He had, moreover, fallen upon a familiar method of treatment, and was anxious that his readers should have the benefit of it. In the work he discusses the extent of the differences between the Churches, the origin of those differences, defends the Reformed against the charges of novelty, heresy, and schism, and lays the guilt of schism at the door of the Church of Rome. This introduction is followed by a brief account of the principal points of controversy—*e.g.*, justification by

inherent righteousness, the doctrine of merit, transubstantiation, half-communion, the sacrifice of the mass, image worship, indulgences and purgatory, Divine service in an unknown tongue, full and forced sacramental confession, invocation of saints, seven sacraments, Romish doctrine of tradition,—each of which the writer endeavours to prove new, as well as contrary to Scripture and reason. The remaining chapter deals with the encroachments of the Bishop of Rome. He seems to have had some misgivings lest he had “spoken too mildly of the estate of that debauched Church,” and that his admitting Rome to be an outward visible Church would savour too much of indifferency. The result proved the correctness of his anticipations. Preferment, it was said, had changed his note, and taught him to speak more plausibly concerning the Roman Church than he either did or ought. Stung by the charge of inconstancy, he pointed out in the “Apologetical Advertisement” that twenty years ago and ever since he had taught as now, and that he was consistent with himself and with our best, orthodox, and classical divines. God make us wise and charitable! he said. The restless spirits were not, however, to be thus appeased, and finding it necessary to support his view by an appeal to living authorities, he wrote to Morton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Prideaux, Professor of Divinity at Oxford and Rector of Exeter College, and Primrose, Preacher to the French Church in London, which last he asked for the opinion of foreign divines. Their unanimous and complimentary replies, together with a letter to Cholmley, who, having vindicated the Bishop, had been accused of being bribed with a prebend, of

neglecting his charge at Tiverton, and, in general, of spiritual decay, were dedicated to the Earl of Norwich, and must have had no small effect with those who were capable of calm reflection. Laud was accused at his trial of having expunged out of the letters two passages, which tended against Arminian tenets and towards approval of the Synod of Dort, the copy of which purgations was asserted to have been seized in the Archbishop's study (by Mr. Prynne, who attested it), endorsed with his own hand "That which my Chapline Mr. Turner left out of the letters of the Bishop of Exeter and Sarum about Arminianisme." The words in the Bishop of Exeter's letter, which were said to have been expunged, and which now, with the exception of the concluding clauses, appear in the letter, were as follows :—

"Yea, as if the calumny were not enough, there want not those whose secret whisperings cast upon me the foul aspersions of another sect, whose name is as much hated as little understood. My lord, you know I had a place with you, though unworthy, in that famous Synod of Dort, where (however sickness bereaved me of the honour of a conclusive subscription) yet your lordship heard me, with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of that way. I am still the same man, and shall live and die in the suffrage of that reverend synod, and do confidently avow that those other opposed opinions cannot stand with the doctrine of the Church of England. But if for the composing of our differences at home (which your lordship knows to be far different from the Netherlandish) there could have been rendered any such fair propositions

of accordance as might be no prejudice to God's truth, I should have thought it an holy and happy project, wherein, if it be not a fault to have wished a safe peace, I am innocent."

Nathanael Butter, the stationer, finding the book less saleable after the purgation, ventured to print the expunged passages; whereupon, being brought before Laud, he was committed to the Fleet, and in the end almost ruined. Laud's plea in defence was that the passage, as well as that in the Bishop of Sarum's reply, was expunged by his chaplain as contrary to the royal proclamation, that Hall himself being well satisfied upon the reason given by the chaplain, viz., that the expurgation was for the quiet of the Church, at last consented to it, and, therefore, that the printer putting it in the words of his own head, deserved exemplary punishment. The words *at last* are significant, and make us believe in the truth of the retort, that Hall, in consenting, was only like the mariner in a storm, who throws some of his goods into the sea, lest the whole ship and freight should be lost; the book must be either expurgated, or altogether suppressed. Laud's meddling with the press will come before us again in speaking of the "Episcopacy by Divine Right."

At the date of the publication of the "Reconciler," Hall had had about fifteen months' experience of a bishop's lot. He was conscious that it was not he, but his rochet that had offended, and could not fail to see signs of the hurricane which was ere long so fiercely to shake our English prelacy. He had recently come upon a Latin pamphlet, "homely for style, tedious for length, zealous uncharitable for stuff," in which the depravation of

the bishop's calling was traced to the honour, the pomp, the wealth, the pleasure of the episcopal chair, and the writer had said that, if himself were so overlaid with greatness, he should suspect his own fidelity. Bishops at the present day are, for the most part, so unmistakably hard-working men, that a certain amount of obtuseness is implied in the suggestion that the episcopal chair is one of ease and comfort; but when Balaam's eyes are open he need not look at the truth, and he may still try to persuade himself that greed and envy are synonymous with the spirit of sacrifice and love of the public good. There is a truth as well as pathos in Hall's words which make them well worthy of transcribing, and no doubt they find an echo in the heart of more than one of our own bishops.

"Foggy air useth to represent every object far bigger than it is. Our Saviour, in His temptation upon the Mount, had only the glory of those kingdoms showed to Him by that subtle spirit, not the cares and vexations. Right so are our dignities exhibited to these envious beholders. Little do these men see the toils and anxieties that attend this supposedly pleasing eminence. All the revenge that I would wish to this uncharitable censurer should be this, that he might be for a while adjudged to this so glorious seat of mine; that so his experience might taste the bewitching pleasures of this envied greatness; he should well find more danger of being overspent with work, than of languishing with ease and delicacy. For me, I need not appeal to heaven, eyes enough can witness how few free hours I have enjoyed since I put on these robes of sacred honour, insomuch as I could find in my heart, with holy Gregory, to complain of my change, were it not that I see

these public troubles are so many acceptable services to my God, Whose glory is the end of my being. Certainly, if none but earthly respects should sway me, I should heartily wish to change this palace, which the providence of God and the bounty of my gracious Sovereign hath put me into, for my quiet cell at Waltham, where I had so sweet leisure to enjoy God, your lordship, and myself. But I have followed the calling of my God to Whose service I am willingly sacrificed, and must now, in a holy obedience to His Divine Majesty, with what cheerfulness I may, ride out all the storms of envy, which unavoidably will alight upon the least appearance of a conceived greatness. In the meantime, whatever I may seem to others, I was never less in my own apprehensions; and, were it not for this attendance of envy, could not yield myself any whit greater than I was. Whatever I am, that good God of mine make me faithful to Him, and compose the unquiet spirits of men to a conscionable care of the public peace."

An opportunity soon presented itself to Hall of showing that, while with wisdom and justice he was willing to admit and even to contend for the visibility of the Church of Rome, he was a fearless opponent of her presumptuous claims and cruel arrogance. At the time of the Bishop's appointment, Buckingham, we have seen, was laying siege to the citadel of St. Martin in the Island of Rhé, and was stimulating the Huguenots to struggle for their religious liberty. Since then he had been compelled to retreat, and when on the point of setting out with another expedition, had fallen by the hand of a fanatical assassin. Thus left to themselves, the Huguenots were compelled to meet the whole power of France, and, after an heroic resistance, Rochelle at last surrendered, in October

1628. Pope Urban VIII. lost no time in turning the victory to the best account, and on the 28th of the following month issued a brief to the French King, Louis XIII., congratulating him on his success, and urging him to destroy all heretics in *Gallica vinea stabulantes*. It is well known that no object was dearer to the heart of Urban than the invasion of England. With so much address and perseverance did he conduct the negotiations for that project that on the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was concluded between France and Spain, and it was definitely settled that the latter should commence the attack before the close of the year, and that the French should join them in the following spring. Ireland was to be given to the pope, and was to be governed by a viceroy. In 1628 the project was warmly entertained, and preparations were being made with the utmost activity. It was under these circumstances that Hall wrote his short "Answer to Pope Urban's Inurbanity." Before printing it, he submitted it "for light or fire" to the judgment of Primrose, whose reply, after all allowance for the kindly exaggerations of friendship, vividly portrays some features of the Bishop's character,—his regard for old friends while enjoying new honours, his modesty conspicuous amid his many other virtues in his writings, voice, eyes, countenance, his suavity, distrust of self, transparency, and power of winning affection, his attainments in divinity and secular knowledge, his repute for sweet and vigorous oratory, his title of the Christian Seneca. As might be expected, Primrose approved of the "Answer," which was accordingly published in 1629. It is a

short but most earnest protest against the blood-thirsty suggestions of the pope, and a touching appeal to Louis, as the son of the gracious and merciful Henry, not to be carried away by them.

It would be strange if with many virtues some faults were not combined, and Hall is, of course, no exception to the rule. Dr. Oliver, in his "*Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*" (I must thank Dean Cowie for drawing my attention to the passage), says that Hall's register testifies to his diligence in his official duties, as also to his care in providing good benefices for his children. Neglecting the cynicism or harmless fun of the writer, and coming at once to his meaning, it is right to ask whether the Bishop exercised his patronage with undue partiality for his own kindred. A glance at the pedigree will show that his sons were certainly somewhat the better off for having a father on the episcopal bench. One was at this time canon and treasurer of the cathedral. Another became principal registrar of the diocese, a third sub-dean, while a son-in-law, Dr. Peterson, was already dean, and it was now proposed to bestow the next residentiary canonry on the dean's brother. Gross nepotism! But, courteous reader, let not, in your surprise, criticism be too critical, nor judgment issue without mercy. The abuse of patronage is a chronic malady, which the lapse of centuries cannot cure. Will the time ever come when men of mind will not be heavily handicapped by men of birth or money-bags? In Hall's day the disease was epidemic and acute, and in the same chapter at Exeter, out of nine canons there were two brothers of the Cottons (the Staffordshire Cottons, to

whose family the bishop next but one preceding Hall belonged), "besides their cousins." The two letters following afford a glimpse of an importunate beggar for preferment, and, beside other matters incidentally mentioned, give an interesting insight into cathedral life at the beginning of Hall's episcopate.

TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD (then Bishop of London).

"May 8th, 1630.

"I am informed that it hath pleased His Majesty to make a reference to the lord keeper and your lordship of a complaint exhibited against me by a late chaplain of mine, one Mr. Nansogge. I am sorry that the bold man should be so troublesome by his unjust suggestions, only, I beseech your lordship, give me leave to inform you of the true state of the business, and then I shall gladly leave it to your noble wisdom and justice.

"This man was, before I was Bishop of Exeter, pecking for the archdeaconry of Cornwall; and putting himself into my attendance, moved me for it; which suit of his was seconded by a message reported to be sent to me from my Lord Duke of Buckingham. I promised and intended it to him when it should fall void. The old incumbent (Mr. Parker) lives still; and, for aught I know, long may. This busy man, weary of expecting, would needs hoise the old man out before his time; and, therefore, solicits me that I would collate it upon him, under pretence that the place was void by a private resignation made long since by the said Mr. Parker to another man, though never legally published or exhibited. I dissuaded him, and told him how invalid that act would be, and how grievous to the old possessor; he importuned me still, *de bene esse*, to do it; professing that he doubted not to satisfy Mr. Parker, and to win him to be content with the act. His importunity prevailed with my too much indulgence towards him;

I did it *de facto*, *reclamante decano et capitulo*, who would not give way to his installation. Now, the friends of Mr. Parker began to stir, and found themselves sensible of his prejudice, getting an inhibition from my Lord's Grace of Canterbury for any further proceedings; and now I received information of the invalidity, indeed nullity, of this act. Withal in this seasonable interim, while the act remained thus imperfect, there came letters to me (being then in London) out of my diocese, from persons of credit (which were backed by personal relations of some which professed friendship to us both) of certain foul miscarriages of Mr. Nansogge's tongue towards my person and family, upon which he had cast shameful aspersions to my great blemish and grief; assuring me how much I was wounded in my reputation by his unthankful tongue. I expostulated the matter with him; he denied it. I examined it to the bottom. God knows how loath I was to believe it; his accusers were brought to his face; and with tender of solemn oaths justified those his scandalous words against him. Finding him convicted partly by his own confession, partly by the undeniable evidence of witnesses, I told him, all the revenge I would take of him should be this, that I would henceforth take off my hand from him, and be a stranger to him. Soon after he writes me the most insolent letter that I think hath been written by a chaplain to his pretended lord. Hereupon I revoked that my imperfect and ill-made grant by a solemn act, and now he thus clamours. As I shall answer it before the highest tribunal of heaven, this is the true state of this business. He pretends the leaving of his fellowship for my service. God knows I knew not that he left it; your lordship well knows he need not have left it upon that cause; neither was his one year's companionship (rather than service) unrecompensed on my part. He pleads my displeasure was causeless, when himself hath before witnesses professed, in part, his guiltiness and sorrow. And yet now this bold man dares complain of him whom he hath wronged. My lord, I have not flattered my cause to

your lordship. If your lordship can think that a favour really meant cannot be forfeited by the unworthiness and ill-deserving of an unthankful subject, I am cast ; else I am (and I hope shall ever be) free. It is enough that I have informed your lordship of this troublesome business ; and now I leave myself in those your just hands ; who I doubt not have already seen which of us is worthy of your lordship's censure. With my best prayers I take my humble leave, and sign myself your lordship's unfeignedly devoted in all observance

"Jos Exon.

"Exon, *May 8th.*"

A day was appointed for the hearing of the cause, the Bishop (who had already given the advowson to another) meanwhile being advised to forbear collating to the said archdeaconry of Cornwall, which was subsequently held by the Bishop's two sons, Robert and George.

TO ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

"*June 11th, 1631.*

"I was bold the last week to give your lordship information of a busy and ignorant schismatic lurking in London ; since which time I hear to my grief that there are eleven several congregations (as they call them) of separatists about the city, furnished with their idly pretended pastors, who meet together in beerhouses and such other meet places of resort every Sunday. I do well know your lordship's zealous and careful vigilance over that populous world of men, so as I am assured your lordship finds enough to move both your sorrow and holy fervency in the cause of God's Church ; neither do I write this as to inform your lordship of what you know not, but to condole the misery of the time. *Deus meliora!* Withal I have taken the boldness to inform your lordship that whereas His Majesty hath been pleased at the suit of my noble lord of Carlisle to grant his

gracious mandatory letters in the behalf of Mr. Rev. Peterson, His Majesty's Chaplain, brother to Mr. Dean, for the next place of residence which shall fall void here ; which are also attended with letters of my lord of Carlisle to me for a careful oversight of the business, and an account of the answers given thereunto ; I find some secret reluctance of some of the canons who are disaffected to the dean upon the late occasion of variance, and am informed that they intend their address to your lordship in this case. I have, therefore, made bold to give your lordship some taste of the man, if he be not already known to your lordship (his honoured diocesan). Certainly, my lord, he is a worthy (I may say) eminent preacher, an approved scholar, a grave, well-governed, modified, honest, peaceable man : faction hath no greater enemy, nor goodness an heartier friend ; his parts are well allowed both in the court and city ; and his conversation inoffensive and exemplary. The only exception which is pretended to be taken against him is, that he is brother to the Dean ; and that, therefore, because I have a son already of the chapter, there may be some combination to sway matters on the part of Mr. Dean ; which will appear a poor cavil to your lordship when your lordship shall understand that there are already two brothers of the Cottons, besides their cousins, in this small number of canons. There are nine canons ; if three should conspire what can they do ? or if they should combine to do aught amiss and unjustifiable, as if we did not live under laws and government ? The truth is, my lord, it is nothing but a secret heart-burning to the dean ; for which they would fain keep out this well-deserving brother, whom for his mere worth and likelihood of excellent service to this Church, I do sincerely affect, without all relations of whatsoever affinity."

The strife between the dean and chapter continued for some years. In 1634 Laud writes, "I have twice set them at peace, yet it breaks out again.

And, I doubt, there being so many brothers and brothers-in-law in that chapter is not the least cause of it; the rest siding together for fear of oppression."

The year 1633 was a memorable one in the life of Hall. On September 19th, Laud, after long wielding the power of the primacy, was consecrated to the office, and Hall could not fail to have some anxiety as to how his work would be affected by the rule of one so resolute and unbending. Personal considerations, too, must have exercised some influence. Hall had written a famous letter nearly thirty years ago, addressed to W. L., at Oxford, and in terms not deficient in vigour had taxed him with wavering on the confines of Rome. Since then Laud had consented to, if not promoted, the appointment of the writer to a bishopric, but there could have been at this time little of that cordiality existing between the two men which afterwards, we are told by Dr. Hook, ripened into a devoted friendship, at least on Hall's side. Then, again, more recently there were grounds for apprehension. On March 17th, 1628, Laud preached before the two Houses of Parliament, and earnestly exhorted them to unity, only with the effect of causing the immediate appointment of a committee on religion, and of calling out an indignant protest against what "those sycophants had prated in the pulpit." On March 30th, Hall preached before the same auditory with so much success that on April 5th he was again the preacher. This sermon, from Isa. v. 4, 5, is the production of an able preacher possessing a keen insight into the vices of his day, and as anxious for their reformation as his sympathetic hearers, so terribly in earnest if mistaken in their methods. It also exhibits an

affectionate interest in the suffering Protestants of the Palatinate and other districts of the Continent, which must have placed the speaker in close *rapport* with his auditory after all the duplicity of James and the coquetting with Rome and the Roman powers. It was ordered to be printed. On February 18th, 1629, he again preached before the Lords on Ash Wednesday, and plainly said that, "if an error should arise in the Church, it is not for every unlearned tradesman to cast away his yard-wand, and take up his pen. Wherefore serve universities if every blue apron may at his pleasure turn licentiate of divinity and talk of theological questions which he understands not, as if they were to be measured by the ell?" Again the sermon was ordered to be printed. It seemed as though Hall could say with impunity what he chose. Would not Laud, now that he possessed recognised official power, resent the popularity of his rival?

Laud's first act was to republish the injunctions which, based on the considerations addressed by him to the king, had been issued in 1629. Their aim was, to a great extent, the suppression of lecturers, who, having no parochial charge, and being supported by the contributions of the people, were favourite agents in disseminating Puritan principles; and with what energy the primate would deal with them was indicated by the dissolution, in February 1633, of the *Collectors of S. Antholin's*, a corporation founded with a view to permanently providing for such lectureships. It was in connection with this policy of the Primate that Hall underwent some of the most painful and humiliating experience of his life, and probably about this time.

"Some persons of note in the clergy, being guilty of their own negligence and disorderly courses, began to envy our success; and finding me ever ready to encourage those whom I found conscionably forward and painful in their places, and willingly giving way to orthodox and peaceable lecturers in several parts of my diocese, opened their mouths against me, both obliquely in the pulpit and directly at the court, complaining of my too much indulgence to persons disaffected, and my too much liberty of frequent lecturings within my charge. The billows went so high, that I was three several times upon my knees to His Majesty, to answer these great criminations; and what contestation I had with some great lords concerning these particulars, it would be too long to report; only this—under how dark a cloud I was hereupon I was so sensible, that I plainly told the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury that rather than I would be obnoxious to those slanderous tongues of his misinformers, I would cast up my rochet. I knew I went right ways, and would not endure to live under undeserved suspicions." In estimating his conduct, it must be borne in mind that Bishop Cotton, who died in 1621, was conspicuous for his hostility to the Puritans, and was a rigid exactor of unequivocal conformity. The diocese no doubt was still sore from his galling treatment. Popish agents in the interval between Bishop Cary's death and Hall's consecration had been extremely busy at Exeter, and it was not to be expected that a potent remedy would be too hastily discountenanced. And lastly, the Bishop no doubt saw in the lecturers a body of men who, properly controlled, and working on

the lines of orthodoxy and peace, would be of immense service to the Church. So long as they lectured on the main verities he would not interfere with them. He was consistent with himself, and while he stands in marked contrast to those who could not tolerate even a Wesley, he is a notable instance of that wisdom which, seeing the need the Church has of agencies outside her ordinary parochial system, leads prelates, otherwise widely different in tone, to give a hearty welcome to well-considered deviations from respectable routine.

A "new imposition," which Hall would certainly not urge, was the "Book of Sports." Lancashire, about this time, abounded more in popish recusants than any country in England, while the Puritans were there more than ordinarily precise, and it was hard to say which were the more superstitious. King James, in passing through on his return from Scotland in 1617, found that certain persons had been punished for playing at various games on the Sundays and holy days. Next year he caused the "Book of Sports" to be published, authorising dancing either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreations. May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, May-poles, and sports used therewith, also rush-carrying by the women for the "decoring of the church" according to their old custom, were made legal, while bear and bull baitings and interludes were prohibited on Sundays, and bowling at all times to the meaner sort of people. The exercises allowed were not to be used before the end of all Divine services for the day. Archbishop Abbot flatly forbade the declaration to be read from the pulpit at Croydon, and the king,

influenced probably by several of his bishops, did not long insist upon its observance. In 1633 the magistrates and judges of assize in the county of Somerset forbade Church-ales to be held on Sundays, and Chief Justice Richardson ordered all wakes and even feasts of the dedication of churches to be suppressed, and directed the declaration to be read by the clergy in their various parishes. Not unnaturally Laud regarded this as an usurpation on ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and after complaining to the king, he severely rebuked the Chief Justice at the council-table. Richardson's orders were revoked, and it was determined to republish the "Book of Sports," the clergy being required to read it in their churches. The Sabbatarian controversy was thus revived with intense bitterness. Many of the clergy were suspended or deprived; some were excommunicated. Laud, when charged with reviving and enlarging the declaration, denied having done so, though he declared himself in favour of recreations on Sunday, and referred to the practice of Geneva. Personally he himself strictly observed Sunday, and there is no doubt that in his own diocese little suffering was produced. Stern disciplinarian as he was, he may have resented the interference of Richardson without actively supporting the obnoxious publication. Had he done so, he would not have been without defence. The Romanists, by relaxing the severity of Sabbath observance, held out a tempting bait to the lower classes; not altogether without reason it was urged that warlike exercises were in danger of ceasing; and with still more force that drunkenness and sedition were encouraged by the enforced idleness. Very plausible reasons might be advanced, but, upon

the whole, then as now, the religious sense of the nation was shocked by anything tending to diminish reverence for the Sabbath. As for Hall, there is no record of one single instance in his diocese of suspension, or deprivation, or excommunication for neglecting to read the declaration.* He was not, indeed, a superstitious Sabbatarian ; he was quick to detect "a nice humorist that will not dress a dish, nor lay a cloth, nor walk abroad on a Sunday, and yet make no conscience of cozening his neighbour on the workday ;" but Sunday, we have seen, was to him a cherished opportunity of multiplied devotion, and he could not consistently support anything which would rob both himself and people of so splendid a privilege.

With another "imposition" of Laud's, the restoration of the altars to their original position, and the re-introduction of a reverent ritual, Hall had more sympathy. This he heartily supported, and not only employed persuasion, but where necessary was prepared to resort to compulsion.

In summarising the relations of Hall to Laud during the first ten years of the former's episcopate, it is undoubtedly correct to say that the Bishop was indebted to the powerful hand of the Primate for the moulding and modifying of some of his opinions ; but his sincerity and independence wherever he thought material verities were involved, coupled with his wisdom and moderation, perhaps no less influenced that rugged nature, so far as it was susceptible of change. In 1634 Laud was able to

* Fuller speaks of a western prelate who had told him that he would not turn the accuser of his brethren. It has been conjectured with good reason that the prelate was Hall.

report, after visiting the diocese: "For Exeter, where, according to many complaints that had been made here above, I might have expected many things out of order, I must do my lord the Bishop this right, that for your Majesty's instructions they have been carefully observed." In 1637: "The Bishop of this diocese (Exon) assures me that all things are in very good order. And, indeed, I think the diocese is well amended within these few years, his lordship having been very careful, both in his visitations and otherwise."

Two episodes in the years 1636 and 1637 are worthy of notice. The Bishop sent up to Laud two copies of a libel written by Prynne, and published under the name of Matthew White, entitled "News from Ipswich." The "News" professed to discover some late detestable practices of some domineering lordly prelates, in particular that the presses formerly open only to truth and piety were closed against them both of late, and patent for the most part to nought but error, superstition, and profaneness. The author specifies the publications in defence of Arminianism, popery, and popish ceremonies, and against the morality of the Sabbath, and the necessity of frequent preaching. The frontispiece of a copy in the Bodleian represents Laud in canonicals, on one side a number of "altar-cringing priests," approaching on the other "Churchwardens for articles;" to the one the archbishop says, "Only canonical prayers," to the other, "No afternoon sermons." Hall's love of order and respect for authority would make him eager in the destruction of such worthless trash.

In the next year many inhabitants of Devonshire

and Cornwall, after being captives in Morocco, were returning home, and the Bishop was troubled to know what to do with them. They had renounced the Saviour, and turned Turks. How were they to be re-admitted into the Church of Christ, and under what penitential form? Being in London he consulted the archbishop about the matter. A form was agreed on, which was afterwards drawn up, approved by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Norwich, and received the royal sanction. Laud gave charge to Hall to see it registered, "to remain as a precedent for future times, if there should be any more sad examples of apostacy from the faith."

Notwithstanding the numerous and varied engagements of his large and busy diocese, and the calls upon his time as the most popular preacher of the day, the Bishop found, or rather made, leisure not only for controversy, but for pursuing the paths of more peaceful literature. In 1631 he rendered a kindly service to the memory of one of his clergy, the Rev. John Downe, B.D., Rector of Instow, in Devonshire, and some time fellow of Emmanuel, whose funeral sermon having been presented to the Bishop, and the author's purpose of publishing certain treatises of Downe's being made known, Hall wrote a letter which he desired should be prefixed to the intended publication. The following extracts do credit no less to the author than to the subject of the eulogy:—"How much ingenuity, how much learning and worth, how much sweetness of conversation, how much elegance of expression, how much integrity and holiness have we lost in that man! No man ever knew him but must needs say that one of the brightest stars in our west is

now set. The excellent parts that were in him were a fit instance for that your learnedly-defended position of the vigour of this last age whereunto he gave his accurate and witty astipulation . . . Besides those skilful and rare pieces of divinity, tracts, and sermons, I hope (for my old love to those studies) we shall see abroad some excellent monuments of his Latin poetry, in which faculty, I dare boldly say, few, if any, of our age exceeded him. In his polemical discourses (some whereof I have by me) how easy is it for any judicious reader to observe the true genius of his renowned uncle, Bishop Jewell! Such smoothness of style, such sharpness of wit, such interspersions of well-applied reading, such grave and holy urbanity!"

In the same year was written the short tract in explanation of Christ's presence in Holy Communion. In 1633 appeared the "Paraphrases on Hard Texts," the germ of which is to be found in the "Paraphrase upon the Song of Solomon," written perhaps some four or five-and-twenty years previous. This work, undertaken for the benefit of the plain reader, and composed with the "aid of the best commentators, both ancient and modern," ranging as it does over the whole field of Scripture, must have involved immense labour, and was a notable production for the time when it appeared. Succeeding commentators made great use of it; but it can scarcely lay claim to being in any sense critical, and the difficulties in the hard texts are mostly restated at greater length rather than satisfactorily explained. The next year (1634) saw the "Contemplations,"* on which he had

* John Ferrier, M.D., in his "Illustrations of Sterne," 2 vols, 12mo, 1812, says, "It has long been my opinion that the

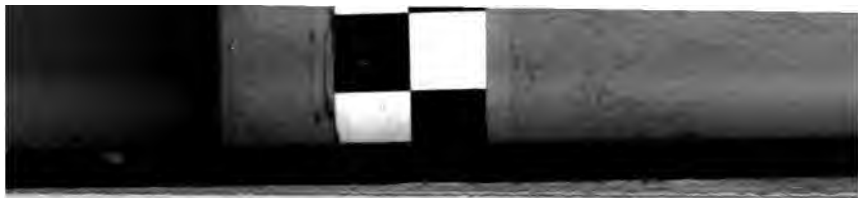
also been engaged at intervals for more than twenty years, and in the completion of which he had been encouraged by many divines both at home and abroad, brought to a successful end by the publication of the fourth book of those on the New Testament. Busily spending upon this the few spare hours he could borrow or steal from his continual and weighty employments, he had given permission to his son Robert to publish the "Occasional Meditations," the papers of which were laid aside in the study. In November of this year, "renewing his recollections of Rome and Athens," the Bishop published them in a Latin dress. While grateful to Jacomot and others who had translated his writings, he admitted that he was not well pleased with some Latin and French versions. He preferred, he said, to see his children clad in homespun rather than in silk badly put on. This feeling may have led him to provide the clothing of the "Occasional Meditations" himself. As for their scope, he says, "I would not wish to live longer than I should be better for mine eyes ; and have thought it thankworthy thus to teach weak minds how to

manner, the style, and the selection of subjects for his (Sterne's) sermons were derived from the 'Contemplations' of Bishop Hall. There is a delicacy of thought and tenderness of expression in the good Bishop's compositions, from the transfusion of which Sterne looked for immortality. Sterne has (again) acknowledged his acquaintance with this book, by the disingenuity of two ludicrous quotations in 'Tristram Shandy.'

"The use which Sterne made of Burton and Hall, and his great familiarity with their works, had considerable influence on his style. It was rendered, by assimilation with theirs, more easy, more natural, and more expressive." Vol. ii., pp. 123-128, quoted by Peter Hall.

improve their thoughts upon all like occasions. And, if ever these lines shall come to the public view, I desire and charge my reader, whosoever he be, to make me and myself so happy as to take out my lesson, and learn how to read *God's Great Book* by mine." They, indeed, show how keen an observer their author was, and with what love and diligence he studied the book of Nature. Things great and small were alike to him ladders whereby to climb to heaven. Holy thoughts with him gathered round a sun-dial, a gliding star, or an eclipse, the tree full-blossomed, the spider weaving its web, the barking of a dog, a cock-fight, the sight of two snails, London street-cries, flies about a galled horse, music by night, the glow-worm, gnats in the sun, the crawling worm or the gorgeous peacock. His mind taxed all nature for tribute to the glory of its Creator.

Seventeen years had passed since the first folio of his collected works appeared. This year the second was brought out; and, perhaps early in 1635, the "*Henochismus—Of walking with God.*" This latter work may have been suggested by the archbishop's metropolitical visitation of the diocese. At all events, it was during the leisure months which he had at that time that, besides the pleasurable work of translating the "*Occasional Meditations,*" and "*some other matters,*" he composed the treatise. The pens of almost all the writers of the day were employed on polemical questions, foolish indeed most of them, and unlearned. In the meantime, piety was starving, and a religious course of life was generally condemned, as something quite irrelevant and supererogatory. For his own part, he was both wearied



and ashamed of the endless disputes by which the Christian world was agitated, and expressed his hearty wish that it were in his power to allay them, he would not say by his prayers, his sighs, his tears, but by any fatigue or labour he could endure, by any sacrifice he could make, even unto blood. The practical little treatise by which he hoped to recall some to a life of devotion was intended to teach wherein the walk with God consists, and the manner of walking. To walk with God intimates presence, familiarity, and motion with God. Presence is secured by a right apprehension of His majesty, and through the affections of holy fear, reverence, and the desire of Divine approbation. Familiarity is evidenced by the appropriation of God to ourselves by an act of faith, by intercourse with God in good thoughts and the answers of the pious soul, by consultation of God in all difficulties, by prayer in necessities, repose on His providence, recollection of benefits, enjoyment of God in all good things. Motion is exhibited either in the external habit of active obedience in the exercises of Divine worship and in the duties of our vocation, and in the careful avoiding of sin, or the internal, which includes reference in all things to God, self-surrender, holy importunity after fuller fruition of Him. The walk itself must be exclusive, straightforward, cheerful, constant. The stimulus to walk is given by the honour, pleasantness, safety, advantage of the company of God. The first decade of Hall's episcopate was brought to a close by the publication of the *Remedy of Profaneness*.

At this time, depressed by the death of the Earl of Norwich, and conscious of advancing years, he

announced his intention of abandoning authorship. But the sequel will show that the veteran was still to fight some of his fiercest battles, and to enrich the world with many of his maturest and most holy experiences before being lost to the view of the public who held him dear.

Before entering on the next chapter, it is pleasing to relate that the strife which had so long existed between the Dean and Chapter and the city of Exeter was this year (1637) brought to an end. As far back as 1634 Laud complained to the king that there had been and was a great difference about burial within the churchyard of the Cathedral, and intimated that possibly it might be necessary to ask the royal intervention. Hall in these transactions is admitted to have been frank and honourable. In one of his letters he says, "I beseech you let us mutually have all fair terms without trenching upon each other's liberties, that so neither part have any cause of grievance." At length, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1637, the new burialplace was consecrated. The Bishop preached, and while thanking the citizens for their care and bounty, and congratulating the Dean and Chapter for their zeal in exciting the beneficence of the citizens and their munificent concurrence in seconding it, he did not forget the "pious care and fervency of our most reverend and vigilant Metropolitan" in promoting so religious a work. The sermon shows Hall's reasonableness with regard to burial as in other matters. The most ancient and best way of sepulture was that it should be without the gates of the city. With an exception in favour of princes and great persons who have their private chapels for their repositories, "secluded

from the place of God's public service and devoted to no other purpose," he disliked the practice of burial in churches partly upon theological, but mainly upon sanitary grounds. The practice was unknown to the Greek Church, and where it existed was the result of superstition, ambition, and covetousness. "St. Swithin, our neighbour-bishop of Winchester, gave charge when he died that his body should not be laid within the church, but where the drops of rain might wet his grave, and where passengers might walk over it—an example worthy of our imitation. There can no vault be so good to cover our graves as that of heaven." His last will, in which he requested to be buried without any funeral pomp, at the discretion of his executor, "with this only monition, that he did not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints," testifies to the sincerity of his professions.



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CHAPTER XV.

1637-41.

*THE DISASTER AT WITHECOMBE.—OVERTHROW OF
EPISCOPACY IN SCOTLAND.—HALL'S PROPOSAL
FOR A SYNOD.—THE "EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE
RIGHT"—THE ET CÆTERA OATH.—THE CANONS.—
THE COMMITTEE OF RELIGION—ASSAULT UPON
THE ENGLISH BISHOPS.—RETURN TO EXETER.—
THE SMECTYMNUANS.—BISHOP OF NORWICH, ETC.*

IN the autumn of 1638 the Bishop was in communication with the Primate respecting a disaster at Withecombe in his diocese. On October 21st, in the afternoon, the church was struck by lightning during the time of Divine service. Three persons were killed outright and some eighteen injured by the lightning and falling *débris* of the stricken tower. Before the end of the year the Bishop had cause to mourn the ravages of death in his own family. On Christmas Day his daughter Mary died, at the early age of twenty-two, and was buried four days after. She had been married a little more than two years, and was the wife of James Rodd, Esq., of Exeter. Their son Bamfylde afterwards married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Hall, the Sub-Dean.

From these parochial and domestic sorrows he

was constrained to turn to those of the diocese and the church at large. And here we must go back a little way. The new liturgy for Scotland, prepared with so much care, so cautiously amended, and introduced with so much delay and hesitation, was ordered to be read in the churches of Edinburgh July 23rd, 1637. At St. Giles's were assembled, to do honour to the event, two Archbishops, several Bishops, the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, and the magistrates of the city; but the riot which ensued, and which there is reason for believing was deliberately planned, showed only too clearly the temper of the Scots. The agitation spread throughout the kingdom, and petitions from all parts were presented against the service-book. The most intense excitement everywhere prevailed. One of the leading agitators himself thus writes in horror at the state of things he had helped to produce:—"What shall be the event, God knows. There was never in our land such an appearance of a stir. The whole people think popery at the doors; the scandalous pamphlets, which come daily new from England, add oil to this flame; no man can speak anything in public for the king's part except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil far above anything I could have imagined, though the mass in Latin had been presented." Still the king was determined to adhere to the service-book, and a proclamation to that effect was made in Scotland in February 1638, which was met by a counter-protest, the king's officers being in some cases compelled to remain amid jeers and laughter until it was read. On the 28th of this

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month the National Covenant, by which the subscribers bound themselves "to defend the true reformed religion, and to forbear the practice of all novations and corruptions in the worship and government of the Church until the same should be approved of in a free assembly and parliament," was signed at Edinburgh, signatures being most unscrupulously and shamelessly gained by force and intimidation in all parts of Scotland. The discontent spread farther and penetrated deeper, until it soon became clear that an attempt would be made to abolish episcopacy, annul the Articles of Perth, and force the covenant on all persons under pain of excommunication. On September 9th the king thought it advisable to revoke the service-book and make other concessions; a proclamation to that effect was issued before the end of the month, and a general assembly was appointed to meet at Glasgow on November 21st. Nothing was gained by this step. The assembly proved refractory, refused to be dissolved, and, left to themselves, declared unanimously, one member only hesitating but not opposing, that episcopacy had been abjured by the Confession of 1581, and ought to be removed. On the 13th of next month sentence of deposition and excommunication was formally pronounced against two archbishops and six bishops, while six other bishops were deposed. Thus episcopacy was overthrown, and all that the king and bishops had so long striven for was destroyed.

In the beginning of August 1639 another assembly was held at Edinburgh, and on the 17th a paper, dated February 11th, was given in, signed by George Graham, who styled himself "sometime

pretended bishop of Orkney." He formally abjured his episcopal office, and promised that he would never directly or indirectly exercise the same, or even approve thereof in private or public discourse. It is now that Hall once more enters the arena. The swelling of the waves had been felt at Exeter long ago, and Laud had informed the king in 1637 that the Bishop apprehended troubles through the Liturgy printed for Scotland, which was said by the preciser faction to have in it sundry notorious points of popery, etc. A report of the proceedings of the assembly in which Graham distinguished himself reached Hall in September, and the next day he despatched to the Primate a letter, in which he deprecated the cutting of the knot with the sword, and suggested a synod as a solution of existing difficulties. The letter is dated September 28th, 1639.

"Yesternight I had the view of the acts of the late Scottish Assembly, which I could not read without much indignation, in seeing the only true and ancient government of the Church so despitefully trod upon by ignorant factionists. Upon the perusal whereof I began to think it were pity and shame they should carry it away so, and that so public an insolence should admit of none but a more public remedy; and may I be bold to impart unto your Grace what my thoughts were for some ease of this wrong, and mitigation of the scandal? Under the hope of your Grace's pardon, I shall not stick to discover them in this secret and fearless paper, humbly leaving them to your Grace's favourable censure, although indeed I should have needed a larger preface to so bold an attempt. Since then for his Majesty to right the Church by the sword, as the case now stands, is neither fit for our hopes nor our wishes which were no other in so desperate a schism than to

reconquer his own with much charge, danger, and blood), we thought it might be seasonable, safe, and happy, to employ the spiritual sword (the remedy which the Church hath ever wont to make use of on such occasions, with blessed success); I thought, therefore, if through your Grace's mediation it might please his sacred Majesty to cause a general synod of the whole three kingdoms to be indicted, wherein all the reverend bishops, and chief of the learned and dignified clergy, and the professors, and some other eminent doctors of all the universities in all the said kingdoms, may be assembled to pass their judgment (after free and full expectation) of these schismatical points, determined thus proudly and rashly by our northern neighbours, it could not but sort to excellent effect; for so they might be convinced of their absurd errors, or at least publicly before all the world censured and condemned for what they are; and if they have any remainders of shame they shall be made to blush at their own miserable transportation. This would be some comfort to those exiled bishops, who put Holy Island (as I hear) to the same use whereto it was employed at the first plantation of the Gospel, (to be a receptacle of persecuted prelates,) that they should see their cause taken to heart by the whole Church under his Majesty's dominions. And why should we not think that the presence and authority of your Grace, with that eminent and learned primate of Armagh, and so many other grave and renowned prelates, seconded by so irresistible powers of the learning and judgment of so many assistant divines (of great note and worth), cannot choose but certainly confound these heady and ignorant opposers of government and good order, and give great satisfaction to the world, who, seeing the errors and groundless proceedings of these men, shall hiss them out of countenance; neither can they shelter themselves under the examples of other Churches in France and Netherlands, etc., since necessity hath long ago cast them into that condition which these men (after establishment in the right form) have wilfully drawn upon

themselves, with an impetuous exclusion of a settled Government? And certainly, my lord, methinks there should be a kind of necessity in this course, since not some few, but the whole Church of Scotland, hath thus broken out into schism, and shamed both itself and the gospel; and without some timely prevention the mischief may yet grow farther; whereas this way it may be (at the least) chokingly convinced and seasonably checked. Neither need the charge hereof be great to his Majesty's coffers, since the burthen of the commissioners may be laid upon the several dioceses from whence they are sent. Your Grace sees whither my zeal hath carried me. If I have been too bold and forward in thus presuming, I humbly crave the pardon of your Grace, which hath been extended to greater errors: I hope a good heart will excuse all; the best wishes whereof are truly vowed and duly paid to your Grace."

Laud, in answer, replied that there were strong reasons of state against calling a Synod, but commended the Bishop's zeal, and suggested that he should write a confutation of the Scottish schismatics. Such was the origin of the famous *Episcopacy by Divine Right*. The whole course of events is so perfectly natural that there is no necessity for supposing that Laud's intentions were anything but sincere, and that he wished to catch the Bishop in a trap. Hall did not at once assent. But events in his own diocese must have made him feel strongly that something should be done. "We begin already" (he writes to Laud, October 8th, 1639) "to find the effects of the Scottish schism. I am grieved to say that one of my clergy, Mr. Benjamin Coxe of Sandford, hath lately, in his chapel rather than church, vented doctrine foully prejudicial to the Divine institution of Episcopal

government. Upon intelligence I convented him, and drew from him the copy of his sermon, written with his own hand, and so before me acknowledged, although (when he saw what I intended) he refused to subscribe his name to it. I pressed him with particulars, he stands peremptorily upon his points. I do therefore humbly await your Grace's pleasure by the hands of my chancellor, to whom I have sent the sermon originally written. I took it the more heinously from him for that the man had been all this while strictly conformable, and was one of the first in my diocese who removed his table voluntarily to an altary situation." Coxe, whose sermon had troubled those parts not a little, on appearing before Laud, submitted and recanted. Still the incident proved that something must be done to counteract the mischief. But Hall was now too old to crave the painful honour of appearing as the sole champion of the right. His experience told him what to expect from foes so rancorously hostile, and although even after this he could say that for one against the order of Bishops a hundred were in favour of it, he knew that what the adversaries lacked in number they would supply in energy. He was therefore anxious to meet them with a phalanx, and on October 18th intimated to Laud his wish to be associated in the work with other bishops and divines, suggesting that Laud himself, Morton of Durham, and Davenant of Salisbury for England, Archbishop Usher and Bishops Bedell and Lesley for Ireland, and some of the exiled Scottish bishops for their country, should be the literary warriors. Laud, however, objected to the scheme proposed, and Hall undertook the

work alone, on condition of receiving his Metropolitan's advice in its execution. Usher, on being requested by Hall to do so, did take up his pen in defence of episcopacy. The Bishop's letter to him was as follows :—

"That which fell from me yesterday, suddenly and trans-cursively, hath since taken up my after-midnight thoughts : and I must crave leave, what I then moved, to importune that your Grace would be pleased to bestow one sheet of paper upon these distracted times, in the subject of Episcopacy : showing the Apostolical original of it, and the ground of it from Scripture, and the immediately succeeding antiquity. Every line of it, coming from your Grace's hand, would be 'super rotas suas : ' as Solomon's expression is, 'Very apples of gold with pictures of silver,' and more worth than volumes from us. Think that I stand before you like the man of Macedon, and that you hear me say, 'Come and help us : ' and as your Grace is wholly given up to the common good of the Church, say, whether you can deny it? And if it please your Grace to take your rise from my humble motion to express yourself in this question, wherein I am publicly interested, or otherwise to profess your voluntary resolutions for the settling of many, either misled or doubting souls, it will be the most acceptable, and (I hope) the most successful work that your Grace hath ever undertaken. It was my earnest motion long ago to μέγας τίς, to intreat this labour from your Grace, which now comes from my meanness: your gracious humility will not even from so low hands disregard it. With my zealous suit, and hopeful expectation of a yielding answer,

" I humbly take leave, and am, etc."

The draft of his own design which the Bishop submitted to Laud was as follows : His two main points which he purposed to prove were, first, That

Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and Divine institution (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of jurisdiction), and therefore where it hath through God's providence obtained, cannot by any human power be abdicated without a manifest violation of God's ordinance. And secondly, That the Presbyterian government, however vindicated under the glorious names of Christ's kingdom and ordinance, hath no true footing either in Scripture or the practice of the Church in all ages from Christ's time till the present; and that howsoever it may be of use in some cities or territories, wherein Episcopal government, through iniquity of times, cannot be had, yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwise settled under an acknowledged *monarchy*, is utterly incongruous and unjustifiable. As the ground of his argument he set forth certain *Postulata* :—

1. That government, which was of apostolical institution, cannot be denied to be of Divine right.
2. Not only that government, which was directly commanded and enacted, but also that which was practised and recommended by the Apostles to the Church, must justly pass for an Apostolical institution.
3. That which the Apostles by Divine inspiration instituted, was not for the present time, but for continuance.
4. The universal practice of the Church, immediately succeeding the Apostles, is the best and surest commentary upon the practice of the Apostles, or upon their expressions.
5. We may not venture to entertain so irreverent an opinion of the saints and fathers of the primitive Church, that they who were the immediate successors of the Apostles would, or durst, set up a government, either faulty, or of their own heads.
6. If they would

have been so presumptuous, yet they could not have diffused an uniform form of government through the world in so short a space. 7. The ancient histories of the Church, and writings of the eldest Fathers, are rather to be believed in the report of the primitive form of the Church government, than those of this last age. 8. Those whom the ancient Church of God and the holy orthodox fathers condemned for heretics are not fit to be followed as authors of our opinion or practice for Church government. 9. The accession of honourable titles or privileges makes no difference in the substance of the calling. 10. Those Scriptures whereon a new form of government is grounded have need to be very clear and unquestionable, and more evident than those whereon the former rejected polity is raised. 11. If that order which, they say, Christ set for the government of the Church (which they call the kingdom and ordinance of Christ) be but one, and undoubted, then it would, and shall have been ere this, agreed upon against them, what and which it is. 12. If this (which they pretend) be the kingdom and ordinance of Christ, then if any essential part of it be wanting, Christ's kingdom is not erected in the Church. 13. Christian polity requires no impossible or absurd thing. 14. Those tenets which are new, and unheard of in all ages of the Church (in many and essential points) are well worthy to be suspected. 15. To depart from the practice of the Universal Church of Christ (even from the Apostles' time) and to betake ourselves voluntarily to a new form, lately taken up, cannot but be odious and highly scandalous. This outline, submitted in the end of October, was, for the most

Lewis: part, approved by the Archbishop, but certain points he thought might well be amended. As showing how far his corrections extended, and as an instructive instance of the way in which the Archbishop "tuned," not only the pulpit, but the press, the following communication, though lengthy, will not perhaps be thought too long.

1 "Since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to
acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work,
and to yield it up to my censure, and better advice (so you
are pleased to write), I do not only thank you heartily for
it, but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal
freedom, put some few animadversions, such as occur on
the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing
but what you do, the perfection of the work, in which so
much is concerned. And first for Mr. George Graham (the
Scotch bishop who had renounced his Episcopal function),
I leave you free to work upon his business and his ignorance
as you please, assuring myself that you will not depart
from the gravity of yourself, or the cause therein. Next you
say in the first head, That Episcopacy is an ancient, holy,
and Divine institution. It must needs be ancient and holy,
if Divine. Would it not be more full, went it thus? So
2 ancient, that it is of Divine institution. Next, you define
Episcopacy by being joined with imparity and superiority
of jurisdiction, but this seems short; for every arch-
presbyter's or archdeacon's place is so, yea, and so was
Mr. Henderson in his chair at Glasgow, unless you will define
it by a distinction of order. I draw the superiority, not
from the jurisdiction which is attributed to bishops *jure*
positivo, in their audience of ecclesiastical matters; but
from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of
excommunication. Again, you say in the first point, that
where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated
without violation of God's ordinance. This proposition I

conceive is *inter minus habentes*; for never was there any Church yet where it hath not obtained. The Christian faith was never yet planted anywhere, but the very first feature of a Church was by, or with Episcopacy; and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an abdication, for certainly there it was a *principio*. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian government may be of use where Episcopacy may not be had. First, I pray you consider whether this conversion be not needless here, and in itself of a dangerous consequence. Next, I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more than in title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their Presbyterian faction to be Christ's kingdom and ordinance (as yourself expresseth), and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor shall I ever give way to hamper ourselves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva, and this must be sadly thought on.

"Concerning your *Postulata* I shall pray you to allow me the like freedom; amongst which the two first are true, but (as expressed) too restrictive. For Episcopacy is not so to be asserted unto Apostolical institution, as to bar it from looking higher, and from fetching it materially and originally, in the ground and intention of it, from Christ Himself, though perhaps the Apostles formalized it. And here give me leave a little to enlarge. The adversaries of Episcopacy are not only the furious Arian heretics (out of which are now raised Prynne, Bastwick, and our Scottish masters), but some also of a milder and subtler alloy both in the Genevan and Roman faction. And it will become the Church of England to vindicate it against the furious Puritans, and that we may not lay it open to be wounded by either of the other two more cunning and more learned adversaries. Nor to the Roman faction, for that will be content it shall be *Furis Divini Mediati*, by, for, from, and under the Pope, that so the government of the Church may be

monarchical in him ; but not *immediati*, which makes the Church aristocratical in the Bishops. This is the Italian rock, not the Genevan ; for that will not deny Episcopacy to be *Furis Divini*, so you will take it, *ut suadentis vel approbantis*, but not *imperantis* ; for then they make, take, and leave as they will, which is that they would be at. Nay (if I much forget not), Beza himself is said to have acknowledged Episcopacy to be *Furis Divini imperantis*, so you will take it as *universaliter imperantis*, for then Geneva might escape, *et citra considerationem durantis* : for then, though they had it before, yet now upon wiser thoughts they may be without it, which Scotland says now, and who will may say it after, if this be good divinity, and then all in that time shall be democratical. I am bold to add, because in your second *Postulatum* I find, that Episcopacy is directly commanded ; but you go not so far as to meet with this subtilty of Beza, which is the great rock in the Lake of Geneva. In your ninth *Postulatum*, that the accession of honourable titles, or privileges, makes no difference in the substance of the calling, you mean the titles of Archbishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Patriarchs, etc. 'Tis well, and I presume you do so ; but then in any case take heed you assert it so, as that the faction lay not hold of it, as if the bishops were but the title of honour, and the same calling with a Priest, for that they all aim at, etc. The eleventh *Postulatum* is larger, and I shall not repeat it ; because I am sure you retain a copy of what you write to me, being the ribs of the work ; nor shall I say more to it, than that it must be warily hinted for fear of a saucy answer, which is more ready with them a great deal than a learned one. I presume I am pardoned already for this freedom by your submission of all to me. And now I heartily pray you to send me up (keeping a copy to yourself against the accidents of carriage) not the whole work together, but each particular head or *Postulatum* as you finish it ; that so we here may be the better able to consider of it, and the work come on faster."

If the reader of the "Episcopacy by Divine Right" sometimes regrets this meddling, and is at a loss to know whether he is making his own the thoughts of Laud or Hall, he may console himself with the reflection that upon the whole the treatise must have gained something in directness of aim and clearness of statement by the revision of so able and clear-headed a critic. Before the book went to the press it was again submitted to the Metropolitan's vigilant eye for a last revision. Laud carefully read it, and found that the strict Sabbatarians were not so roughly handled as he could wish. The point, too, whether Episcopacy was an Order or Degree, he thought was ignored rather than discussed. But what displeased him most was that the Pope was called *Antichrist*. This was so serious a matter that he deemed it necessary to consult the king about it. His Majesty commanded Hall to qualify his expression, that so he might not differ from James I., who having used the same offensive appellation, had found it convenient at the time of the projected Spanish match to eat his own words, and to make a shuffling explanation that "he writ that, not concludingly, but by way of argument only, that the Pope and his adherents might see there was as good and better arguments to prove him Antichrist, than for the Pope to challenge temporal jurisdiction over kings." At length, all faults satisfactorily corrected, the book appeared early in February 1639-40.

How great was the impression produced by it throughout the country may be gathered from the following words written by T. White, a Roman Catholic, on February 12th, 1640, to Viscount

Gage at Dublin. "We are in a fair way to assuage heresy and her episcopacy, for Exeter's book has done more for the Catholics than they could have done themselves, he having written that Episcopacy in office and jurisdiction is absolutely *jure Divino* (which was the old quarrel between our bishops and King Henry VIII. during his heresy); which book does not a little trouble our adversaries, who declare this tenet of Exeter's to be contrary to the laws of the land" (Neal's "History of the Puritans," 2nd ed., vol. i., 674). This is no slight testimony to the thoroughness with which the position was vindicated, and remembering with what care Laud in his criticisms guarded against the "Italian rock," and how Hall had called the Pope "Antichrist," we have at least two distinguished divines who could believe in the Divine origin of the Episcopate, and yet not find themselves driven, in consequence, by "an irresistible logic from the Church of England to the Church of Rome, and not to the Church of Rome only, but to the straitest sect of Ultramontaniam" (*Contemporary Review*, June 1885, p. 864). Could they speak now, they would doubtless say, with Dr. Liddon, it is the faith of ninety millions of Eastern Christians. And they hold it because they believe, as the best English divines have believed, that it was also, in the first ages, the faith of Christendom. (*Sermon preached at the consecration of Bishops King and Bickersteth, second edition, with notice of Dr. Hatch's paper*, p. xxxiv.)

I have elsewhere attempted somewhat in detail an analysis of the argument of the "Episcopacy by Divine Right," and therefore proceed with the current of events which now crowded one upon another

with startling rapidity. No parliament had met for eleven years. At length one assembled (April 13th, 1640), but in less than a month was abruptly dissolved. Convocation had granted subsidies, and had moreover been busy making canons intended to be retrospective, and to legalise Laud's doubtful actions during the time the king and he had governed the nation. It was now resolved that though Parliament was dissolved, convocation should continue sitting. Whether the king, with a view to securing the clerical subsidies, was responsible for this policy, or Laud, as Heylin says, suggested it, is uncertain. The Lord Chancellor and six judges gave it as their opinion that the proceeding was legal. The authorities, however, not being satisfied, a new writ, dated May 12th, was issued, which authorised the Synod to sit and act during pleasure. The Synod now went on with its work of making canons, and, amongst others, one which prescribed a new oath to the clergy, known as the famous *et cætera* oath, which ran thus :—" I, A. B., do swear that I approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour by myself, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established ; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *et cætera*, as it stands now established."

The unfortunate *et cætera*, which was no doubt inadvertently copied from the incomplete draft, was supposed to afford hiding-room for all kinds of enormities, and became a powerful weapon in the

hands of those who objected to the purpose of the oath. The clergy everywhere refused to take it. Different bishops adopted different modes of meeting the difficulty. What did Hall do? He did not tender it to any one minister of his diocese, and the reader will perhaps agree with the author that in thus acting he exhibited his customary wisdom.* The time of the recess was one of great excitement. Strenuous efforts were made to choose such clerks for Convocation as would be most in favour of altering the existing government of the Church, and Hall had his share of the trouble. Through the "incitation of some busy interlopers of the neighbour county," rival candidates, without any intimation to the Bishop, were nominated in competition with those whom he, after the usual form, had recommended. He did not deny the right of choice claimed by his opponents, but took it unkindly that they adopted underhand courses. Had they made known their wishes, he would have gone with them in their election. It came to the poll. The Bishop was victorious. The new parliament met November 3rd (1640), and, as was to be ex-

* His explanation of the meaning of the oath was as follows :—

"I do so far approve of the discipline and doctrine of this Church, as that I do believe there is nothing in any other pretended discipline or doctrine necessary to salvation, besides that which is contained in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. And as I do allow the government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, so I will not, upon the suggestion of any factious persons, go about to alter the same, as it now stands, and as by due right (being so established) it ought to stand in the Church of England." (Jones, "Memoir of Bishop Hall," pp. 181-2.)

pected, the oath and the canons came in for a fair share of attention. A week had not passed before an attack was made upon the Archbishop. On December 18th he was committed to prison, and a few days afterwards Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, were impeached by the Commons before the House of Lords. A committee was appointed to investigate Laud's conduct, and to prepare for the punishment of those who had subscribed the canons. It was not, however, until the very end of July in the following year, when it became evident that the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, which had been sent up to the Lords in the previous March, would not pass, that the impeachment of Wren and Pierce was proceeded with, and it was definitely decided to include thirteen other bishops, among them Hall, in the charge.

Had it been possible the bishops were to have been accused of treason; but that not appearing feasible they were indicted with having made and published "the late canons contrary to the king's prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of parliament, and to the property and liberty of the subject; and containing matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence; and for granting a benevolence or contribution to His Majesty, to be paid by the clergy of that province, contrary to law." Three months were allowed the accused to prepare their answer and instruct counsel. The indictment, prosecuted with great earnestness by leading lawyers in the Commons, and supported with equal zeal in the Lords, was effectually stopped by the demurring answer of the

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defending counsel, Serjeant Jermyn, Mr. Chute, Mr. Herne, and Mr. Hales.* Hall himself delivered a speech in defence of the canons, which is happily preserved for us. He was sensible that he spoke with the disadvantage of much prejudice, and, therefore, craved their lordships' best construction; he felt, too, that there was little hope of prevailing, but was desirous so to yield that posterity might not say he and his fellow-bishops had willingly betrayed their own innocence. They were taxed with illegality in making synodical acts. But having had the great seal of England for it, seconded by the opinion of the judges, and upon these the command of their superior to whom they owed canonical obedience, what were they to do? If they obeyed not their superior, they were rebels to authority; if they obeyed, they were censured for illegal procedure. In the next place he pleaded their good intentions. The main drift of the canons was to repress and confine the indiscreet and lawless discourses of some either ignorant or parasitical preachers, to suppress the growth of socinianism, popery, separatism, to redress the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts and officers. There may have been failings in the manner of expression, but he thought the framers of such canons deserved thanks rather than censure. He reminded his hearers that since the first synod of the apostles (Acts xv.) to that day it never could be showed that ever any ecclesiastical canons made in synods, general, national, or provincial, were either offered or required

* The demurrer, drawn up by Mr. Chute, was that the bishops' offence in making canons could not amount to a premunire.—*Fuller*, iii., 481.

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to be confirmed by parliament. The injunctions of Queen Elizabeth and the canons of King James had no such confirmation. Either, then, they had too good company in the censure, or else should be excused. They were charged with *making* canons. They neither did nor could make canons, more than the complainants could make laws. For both one and the other the royal sanction was required. The canons were the king's canons, and not the clergy's. As for the matter of the subsidy, in which they were said to have trenched upon the liberty of subjects and propriety of goods, there was a precedent for it in Queen Elizabeth's time. The legality of it the speaker would not now dispute, and at the time had questioned; but such a precedent, and the zeal of the clergy to supply His Majesty's necessities, together with the fact that they had but shown their unwillingness to retract a grant by parliament assembled, when parliament unhappily was dissolved, would, he trusted, be *in tanto* an excuse. To speak his own thoughts, he would say freely that as matters merely ecclesiastical came within the cognisance of the Church's synods, so those merely temporal, or mixt of both ecclesiastical and temporal, should, next under His Majesty, be ordered by parliament. "In the meantime, my lords, where are we? The canons of the Church, both late and former, are pronounced to be void and forceless. Hitherto, we have been quietly and happily governed by those former canons, the extent whereof we have not, I hope, and for some of us I am confident we have not, exceeded. Why should we not be so still? Let these late canons sleep, since you will have it so, till we awake them, which shall not be

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till doomsday ; and let us be where we were, and regulate ourselves by those constitutions which were quietly submitted to on all hands. And, for this which is past, since that which we did was out of our true obedience, and with honest and godly intentions, and according to the universal practice of all Christian Churches, and with the full power of His Majesty's authority, let it not be imputed to us any way worthy of your lordships' censure."

Meantime Puritanism with deadly energy had been at work. On January 23rd, 1641, the House of Commons ordered that commissioners should be sent into the several counties to remove and destroy all "images, altars or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, and other monuments of, and relics of, idolatry." The common people thus encouraged were almost madly irreverent, and quite recklessly destructive. Amongst other objects of interest which perished was St. Paul's Cross, a wooden pulpit covered with lead, in the form of a cross, and standing in the middle of St. Paul's Churchyard. As in the case of Jewell and many equally celebrated divines, it had been the scene of some of Hall's greatest oratorical triumphs.

About the middle of March was appointed the committee to settle the affairs of the Church. It was to consist of ten earls, ten barons, ten bishops, with power to call divines to it for consultation. Laud sorrowfully notes the helplessness of the Churchmen with such a constitution. The scope of its operations is suggestively comprehensive, since its work was to examine all *innovations* in doctrine or discipline, introduced into the Church without law since the Reformation, and, if necessary, to

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examine after that the degrees and perfection of the Reformation itself. With good reason might Laud fear it would prove in time superior to the national synods, and say God only knew what mischief would be wrought in Church and State. At the first meeting a sub-committee of bishops and divines of very different schools of thought was appointed. In the number was Hall, who, as did also Archbishop Usher and Bishop Morton, took an active part in the deliberations. Amongst those who attended were also Ward, Hacket, Sanderson, Prideaux, and Browrigge, together with Mr. Calamy and others of inferior note. As for Hall, he tells us that he freely declared his open dislike to all innovations, both in doctrine and rites. The term *innovation* is one which has been much abused in controversy, and perhaps never more than in recent times. In some minds it would really appear to be synonymous with whatever in the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church has been displeasing to the nonconformity of the last three hundred years, while doctrines and rites as old as the Church of Christ itself have been branded with the offensive title. In what sense Hall used the word can, of course, be ascertained only by a detailed analysis of his opinions; but in brief it may be said that while there everywhere appears in his writings an unaffected love for antiquity and a dislike of the accretions of Rome, he, with equal sincerity, admits the necessity of an expansion of truth, and of an adaptability of the frame-work of the Church to meet the requirements of advancing time. It is probable, therefore, that he would have in view the "new impositions" of the Archbishop

and Arminian doctrine, at least in its more unguarded expression, but would show a resolute front to the undoubted negations, innovations, and inventions of fanaticism. The introduction of the "Root and Branch Bill," in May, which aimed at nothing less than the extirpation of episcopacy, caused such a division in the committee, that the members never after met together, though certain of them continued to sit all through the ensuing recess.

The attack upon "those fungoid excrescences of Christianity," the spiritual peers, was now fully organised and resolutely maintained. Hall had been prominent in defending the theological position; he was no less ready to do battle for the political. He evidently felt that to be a "dumb dog" at such a juncture was to be faithless to a magnificent trust, and with a pathetic earnestness of which the cause was worthy, with calm and sober argument, and here and there a gentle touch of satire, he combated the assailants of the Church. From time to time mutterings and murmurings against the temporal power of the bishops are still heard. Will some day, perhaps before long, the threats become deeds, and Westminster be thronged with a howling mob clamouring for their expulsion from the legislature? It is, at all events, worth while to note what could be urged on the one side by their fiercest assailants, and advanced on the other by one of their ablest defenders. Nine main arguments were brought against the bishops sitting in Parliament:—(1) It was a great hindrance to the exercise of their ministerial function; (2) They had vowed and undertaken at their ordination, that

they would give themselves wholly to their vocation ; (3) Councils and canons, in several ages, had forbidden them to meddle with secular affairs ; (4) The bishops all had dependence upon two archbishops, to whom they had sworn canonical obedience. What independent action was to be expected from them ? (5) They held their bishoprics only for life, and, therefore, were not fit to have a legislative power over the honours, liberties, and properties of the subject ; (6) They were in danger of being biassed by the expectation of further preferment ; (7) Several bishops had of late much encroached upon the consciences and properties of the subject ; and they and their successors would be much encouraged to encroach still further, and the subject much discouraged from complaining against such encroachments, if twenty-six of that order were to be judges upon the complaints. The same reason, it was said, extended to their legislative power ; no bill could pass for the reformation of their power upon any inconvenience by it. (8) The whole number of them was interested to maintain the jurisdiction of bishops, which had been found so grievous to the three kingdoms, that Scotland had utterly abolished it, and multitudes in England and Ireland had petitioned against it ; (9) Bishops being lords of parliament, too great a distance was set between them and the rest of their brethren in the ministry, which occasioned pride in them, discontent in others, and disquiet in the Church.

Hall replied that the reasons had need be strong, and the inconvenience heinous, that should take away an ancient and hereditary right established by law. Meeting the objections *seriatim* he said :—

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(1) To meet once in three years in a parliament, for some few weeks, at the same time when the bishops were bound to attend Convocation business, was no sensible impediment to their holy calling. (2) They had promised to give themselves wholly to their vocation. But would it follow that they might not occasionally lend themselves to the care of the public when called thereunto? They were bound to take moderate care of their household affairs, and to make provision for their family. Why not as well of the commonwealth? (3) As for councils and canons, would those who urged them be content to be bound by them? The Constitutions of Clarendon had expressly said *debent interesse omnibus judiciis*. (4) It was uncharitable to suppose that the metropolitans would be always apt to require unlawful things, and that the bishops would ever basely stoop to a servile humouring of them. (5) It was true they had their places for their lives only; yet there were scarce any of them that had not so much temporal estate in fee as made them no less capable of a legislative power than many of the House of Commons who claimed the right. Notwithstanding their life tenure, for many hundred years there had been good laws and just sentences given by their concurrence. Then again, the justness of their determinations did not depend upon the perpetual inheritance of their places, but upon their honesty and conscientiousness. (6) Temporal lords were interested in offices and places at court. Why should the expectation of preferment be to the prejudice of the bishops, and not of the temporal lords, especially when the age of the former was commonly

so great, and the expenses of removal so heavy, that they could not hope to gain much by translation to other sees. (7) Some bishops may have encroached. Let them be punished. Why should the whole calling suffer for the errors of a few? (8) Of course, the whole number of bishops would defend their own lawful and holy calling against all unjust opposition of gainsayers. If their hearts did not assure them their station were warrantable and good, they were beasts if they would hold them; and, if their hearts did assure them so, they were beasts if they would not defend them. It was said there were numbers in all the three kingdoms that cried the bishops down. True; but there were greater numbers for them, perhaps a hundred for one. "Some busy factionists of the meaner sort in London and its vicinity, a body compounded of separatists, anabaptists, familists, and such like stuff, made some show and noise," but what were they to the whole kingdom? They who cried "no votes" were the same men who were crying "no bishops." As for Scotland, there was no other Church in the whole Christian world which had voluntarily abandoned episcopacy, when it might have continued in it. Why should we conform to the Scotch, rather than the Scotch to us? (9) The objection based on the too great distance between the bishops and their brethren of the clergy was in effect "old Korah's challenge," and, whatever its value, was one that fought equally against all superiority in bishops over the inferior clergy, and against their votes in Parliament. As for *pride*, was it to be thought that Christian philosophers and divines should be puffed up with

honorific titles, while those who really and hereditarily possessed them were free from "any such taint or suspicion of transportedness"?

The bill for depriving the bishops of their votes was sent up to the Lords from the Commons at the end of March 1641. Hall spoke on this occasion, and as a specimen of his parliamentary oratory, and one more proof of how many styles he was master, the speech is given here *verbatim*. The bill was at once thrown out by the Lords.

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"My Lords : This is the strangest bill that ever I heard since I was admitted to sit under this roof, for it strikes at the very fabric and composition of this House, at the style of all laws, and, therefore, were it not that it comes from such a recommendation, it would not, I suppose, undergo any long consideration ; but, coming to us from such hands, it cannot but be worthy of your best thoughts.

"And, truly, for the main scope of the bill, I shall yield it most willingly, that ecclesiastical and sacred persons should not ordinarily be taken up with secular affairs. The minister is called *vir Dei*, a man of God ; he may not be *vir seculi*. He may lend himself to them, upon occasion ; he may not give himself over purposely to them. Shortly, he may not so attend worldly things, as that he do neglect Divine things. This we gladly yield. Matters of justice, therefore, are not proper, as in an ordinary trade, for our function ; and by my consent, shall be, as in a generality, waived and deserted, which, for my part, I never have meddled with, but in a charitable way, with no profit, but some charge to myself, whereof I shall be glad to be eased. *Tractent fabrilis fabri*, as the old word is.

"But, if any man shall hence think fit to infer, that some spiritual person may not occasionally be in a special service of his king or country, and, when he is so required by his prince, give his advice in the urgent affairs of the kingdom,

which I suppose is the main point driven at, it is such an in consequence, as I dare boldly say cannot be made good either by divinity or reason, by the laws either of God or man, whereas the contrary may be proved and enforced by both.

“As for the grounds of this bill, that the minister’s duty is so great that it is able to take up the whole man, and the apostle saith, *Who is sufficient for these things?* and that *he who warfares to God should not entangle himself* with this world, it is a sufficient and just conviction of those who would divide themselves betwixt God and the world, and bestow any main part of their time upon secular affairs; but it hath no operation at all upon this tenet which we have in hand—that a man, dedicated to God, may not so much as, when he is required, cast a glance of his eye, or some minutes of time, or some motions of his tongue, upon the public business of the king and country. Those that expect this from us, may as well, and upon the same reason, hold that a minister must have no family at all; or, if he have one, must not care for it, yea, that he must have no body to tend, but be all spirit.

“My lords, we are men of the same composition with others, and our breeding hath been accordingly. We cannot have lived in the world but we have seen it, and observed it, too; and our long experience and conversation, both in men and in books, cannot but have put something into us for the good of others; and now, having a double capacity, *qua cives, qua ecclesiastici*, as members of the commonwealth, as ministers and governors of the Church, we are ready to do our best service in both. One of them is no way incompatible with the other; yea, the subjects of them both are so united with the Church and commonwealth, that they cannot be severed; yea so, as that, not the one is in the other, but one is the other, is both; so as the services which we do upon these occasions to the commonwealth, are inseparable from our good offices to the Church, so as, upon this ground, there is no reason of our expulsion.

“If ye say that our sitting in parliament takes up much

time, which we might have employed in our studies or pulpits, consider, I beseech you, that, while you have a parliament, we must have a Convocation, and that our attendance upon that, will call for the same expense of time which we afford to this service, so as herein we have neither got nor lost.

“ But I fear it is not, on some hands, the tender regard of the full scope to our calling, that is so much here stood upon as the conceit of too much honour that is done us in taking up the room of peers, and voting in this High Court; for, surely, those that are æverse from our votes, yet could be content we should have place upon the woolsacks, and could allow us ears, but not tongues.

“ If this be the matter, I beseech your lordships to consider that this honour is not done to us, but our profession; which, whatever we be in our several persons, cannot easily be capable of too much respect from your lordships, *Non tibi, sed Isidi*, as he said of old.

“ Neither is this any new grace that is put upon our calling, which if it were now to begin might perhaps be justly grudged to our unworthiness; but it is an ancient right and inheritance, inherent in our station, no less ancient than these walls wherein we sit, yea, more—before ever there were parliaments, in the magna concilia of the kingdom we had our places. And, as for my predecessors, ever since the Conqueror’s time, I can show your lordships a just catalogue of them that have sat before me here. And, truly, though I have just cause to be mean in mine own eyes, yet why or wherein there should be more unworthiness in me than the rest, that I should be stripped of that privilege which they so long enjoyed, though there were no law to hold me here, I cannot see or confess.

“ What respects of honour have been put upon the prime clergy of old both by Pagans, and Jews, and Christians, and what are still both within Christendom and without, I shall not need to urge. It is enough to say this of ours is not merely arbitrary, but stands so firmly established by law

and custom, that I hope it neither can nor will be removed, except you will shake those foundations which I believe you desire to hold firm and inviolable.

"Shortly, then, my lords, the Church craves no new honour from you, and justly hopes you will not be guilty of pulling down the old. As you are the eldest sons, and, next under His Majesty, the honourable patrons of the Church, so she expects and beseeches you to receive her into your tenderest care, so to order her affairs, that ye leave her to posterity in no worse case than you found her.

"It is a true word of Damasus, *Uti vilescit nomen Episcopi omnis status perturbatur Ecclesiæ*. If this be suffered, the misery will be the Church's, the dishonour and blur of the act in future ages will be yours.

"To shut up, therefore, let us be taken off from all ordinary trade of secular employments, and, if you please, abridge us of intermeddling with matters of common justice; but leave us possessed of those places and privileges in parliament, which our predecessors have so long and peaceably enjoyed."

The anticipations of the speaker, apparent in the concluding clauses, were realised. Early in July 1641 the Court of Star Chamber and the High Commission Court were abolished, the bishops being abridged of "intermeddling with matters of common justice," losing their coercive jurisdiction, and being prohibited from administering the *ex officio* oath; but they were still in possession of their places and privileges in parliament, and to this result Hall had contributed his share, not only at Westminster, but by the agencies he set at work in his diocese. Through the exertions of himself and clergy the multitude of counterpetitions presented to the king and the House of Lords was swollen by one from Exeter, with about eight thousand signatures. The

bishop, to use his own words, had had "some hard tugging," and no doubt was glad to escape from the scene of strife and bloodshed—bloodshed, for Strafford (in the language of one of his epitaphs), his prince's nearest joy and grief, the prop and ruin of the state, the people's violent love and hate,

"hurried hence,
'Twixt treason and convenience,"

1641' had been beheaded on Wednesday, May 12th. The labours of the past session were in some measure compensated by the devoted attachment of his people, some hundreds of whom, when he returned home, met him on the way and gave him a cheerful welcome.

A peaceful holiday he could scarcely have looked forward to, even though there had not been the necessary cares of the diocese awaiting him, for he was now busily engaged with the Smectymnuans, and an antagonist no less formidable than Milton had just joined the ranks of his assailants. Some further account of the controversy will be found in the next chapter; here I must be content to indicate the course of events, and in doing so express my obligations to Professor Masson's elaborate "Life of Milton." It is clear from internal evidence that Hall published his "Humble Remonstrance for Liturgy and Episcopacy," shortly after the assembling of the parliament, which met November 3rd, 1640, that is to say, in January, 1641. The Smectymnuan Answer appeared in the following March. Then, in April, came Hall's "Defence of the Remonstrance," and in June the Smectymnuan Vindication of their Answer. It was now that Milton appeared

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upon the scene of battle. He had already published his pamphlet "Of Reformation, and the Causes that hitherto have Hindered it," and the one on "Prelatical Episcopacy," the latter in reply to Usher, when in July he brought out the "Animadversions upon the Remonstrant," which was directly levelled at Hall. Either in the same month, or in August, this was followed by Hall's "Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus," in which he announces his intention of taking no further part in the contest.

It is certainly strange that the Bishop should not have formally replied to Milton, whose single brand he must have felt was more dangerous by far than those of his five other opponents all together. In carefully reading Hall's treatises one or two covert allusions to the great poet, who had written anonymously, can perhaps be detected, but nothing more. It has been suggested that when Milton's "Animadversions" appeared, Hall's "Short Answer" was either in the printer's hands or was on the point of being sent to the press, and that the Bishop, in the stirring events which we shall have to relate, was too busy to take up literary work. Upon the whole, it seems probable that he had decided, having said all that he had to say, and nearly all that could be said, to let the matter rest. Next year, however, the subject was revived in such a way as to bring little credit to any of those concerned, and to leave a more painful impression on the mind than almost anything else in which Hall took part. Personalities, at all times to be deprecated, are doubly distressing when indulged in by men of generally high standard, and acknowledged leaders of their fellows. Milton

in his "Animadversions" had not spared the author of the "Remonstrance," but had described him as a false prophet, a belly-god, proud and covetous, a Laodicean, a dissembling Joab, etc. Some time after the commencement of 1642 appeared "A modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libel intituled Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus." It is a pamphlet consisting of forty small quarto pages, divided into twelve sections, and not only are Milton's arguments replied to, but his personal character, from his college days upwards, is slanderously and scurrilously libelled. Who was the author? Robert Hall, the Bishop's eldest son, had been incorporated at Exeter College, Oxford, and had taken his M.A. there, but his B.A. he had taken at Cambridge. He was about two years Milton's senior, and they may have been at Cambridge together. Through him may have come the tittle-tattle about Milton's conduct while at college. It is natural to suppose, therefore, that he was the chief author; indeed, there are parts which could not have been written by the father without assigning to him a duplicity and an effrontery for which we have no warrant. The son, zealous for his aged father's honour, undertook his defence, and the father, desirous to make his son's work a success, supplied portions of the matter. This appears to be the true explanation. Any way, if Hall ever saw what his son had written, it is to be deplored that he sanctioned its publication; Milton well deserved to be punished, but it was undignified in Hall to be the flogger. Still, amid the dross there is some gold, and for the personal details supplied by Robert

Hall's pen in the following eulogistic description one may be grateful :—"Good God ! view well that heap of age and reverence, and say whether that clear and healthful constitution, those fresh cheeks and quick eyes, that sound tongue, agile hand, nimble invention, staid delivery, quiet, calm and happy bosom, be the effect of threescore years' surfeit and gluttony ?"

Milton's "Apology" against this "modest," or immodest, confutation came out in March or April 1642, another pamphlet by the same hand, "The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelaty," having been printed some time between January 10th and March 19th. The apologist outshone his opponents in his unrivalled command of the language of abuse. But notwithstanding the fierceness on both sides which specially marked the Smectymnuan struggle, Neal says that the controversy might have been compromised, if the rest of the clergy had been of the same spirit and temper with Bishop Hall. And the justice of this remark is evidenced by Hall's utterances while the struggle was proceeding. Preaching before the king at Whitehall on the second Sunday in Lent, 1641, he said : "Good Lord ! what uncharitable censure are men apt to pass upon each other ! Let a man be strict and austere in moral and Divine duties, though never so peaceable, he is a Puritan ; and every Puritan is a hypocrite. Let him be more free and give more scope to his conversation, though never so conscionable, he is a libertine. Let him make scruple but of any innovated form, he is a schismatic. Let him stand for the anciently received rites and government, he is a time-serving formalist. This is a

Diotrephes, that, an Arius ; this, a scorner, that, a flatterer. In the meantime who can escape free ? Surely I that tax both shall be sure to be censured of both. Shall be ? yes am, to purpose ; and therein I joy, yea and will joy. What ! a *neuter* ! says one. What ! on both sides ! says another. This is that I looked for. Yes truly ; brethren, ye have hit it right. I am, and profess to be, as the terms stand, on neither, and yet of both parts ; I am for the peace of both, for the humour of neither. How should the mortar or cement join the stones together, if it did not lie between both ? And, I would to God, not you only, that hear me this day, but all our brethren of this land were alike-minded ; we should not have such libellous presses, such unquiet pulpits, such distracted bosoms ; for the truth is, there is no reason we should be thus disjoined, or thus mutually branded. ‘ This man is right,’ ye say ; ‘ that man is not right ; this sound, that rotten.’ And how so, dear Christians ? What ! for ceremonies and circumstances, for rochets, or rounds, or squares ? Let me tell you, he is right that hath a heart to his God what forms soever he is for. The kingdom of God doth not stand in meats and drinks, in stuffs, or colours, or fashions, in noises, or gestures ; it stands in holiness and righteousness, in godliness and charity, in peace and obedience ; and if we have happily attained unto these, God doth not stand upon trifles and niceties of indifferences ; and why should we ? ” Some may sneer at what they will perhaps choose to call a Laodicean temper, such as this ; but those who seek peace and ensue it, will see in the Bishop’s words that wisdom which cometh from above.

We must now return to the autumn of 1641. On August 11th the king went to Scotland in order to establish peace between the two kingdoms. The price paid was considerable. Already the Scots, who had crossed the border not without some resistance against which they were victorious, killing several of their English opponents and putting the rest to flight, had been receiving nearly £6,000 per week. Now a present of £300,000 was made to them. But far more important than the pecuniary considerations were the concessions Charles found it expedient to make, since he actually assented to a bill which declared episcopal government repugnant to the word of God, conformed himself to the favourite worship of Scotland, and assisted, it is said, with great gravity at the long prayers and very long sermons in which the Presbyterians themselves delighted, and which they wished him also to enjoy. On September 7th, the day appointed for the celebration of the pacification, Hall preached a characteristic sermon in the cathedral at Exeter, and, while thankfully acknowledging the deliverance from the misery of war, urged the audience to contribute their utmost to the cessation of the spiritual and intellectual wars in which the country was engaged, by withdrawing the fuel of contention, by opposing and restraining the libellous, scandalous, and malicious pamphleteers, by giving seasonable counsels of peace, by cherishing the moderately affected and encouraging those that interceded for peace.

The King had been pleased to regard the "Humble Remonstrance" with favour; he could not fail to admire the author's strenuous advocacy since then

of moderate counsels ; and when, a little later, disclosing his real intentions, he proceeded to make certain episcopal appointments, Hall was not forgotten. The see of Norwich was offered to him. But what befell him before he reached his new charge, and how he took the Tower by the way, another chapter will show.

CHAPTER XVI.

HALL AND CONTROVERSY.

FROM the time when Hall first entered the arena of controversy to the day when in 1654, two years before his death, he took up his pen and, with a vigour which many a young man might envy, replied to the scurrilous pamphlet in which he "was disgracefully ranked with priests and Jesuits, and the man that was executed the other day," a period of something like fifty years had passed. He had fought with the "overjust sect of the Brownists," with the restless and supercilious Roman, the subtle Arminian, the rough-hewn zealots of Scotland, the unscrupulous and unwearied Smectymnuans, and had exposed the errors of the fanatical believers in the millennium.

It is not to be expected that with opponents so varied, and separated from each other by so long intervals of time, he should always adopt the same tactics, or exhibit the same tone and temper. A commander in the deserts of Africa, or combating the skilled generals of Europe, might with equal reason be expected to display a strategy uniform and consistent. The Brownists at the time Hall composed his treatise against them were a separatist faction under the leadership of Robinson,

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at Amsterdam, which was a common harbour of all opinions, all heresies, Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism. Separation in the eyes of their antagonist was a dreadful sin. "Even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer than separation." With an insight prophetic of the great rebellion, forty years before it came to pass, he saw that the natural issue of their opinions was the deposition of kings and the disposition of kingdoms. Looking back at the time he wrote his "Christian Moderation" he could confirm by his own experience what Greenham had noted before him—that pride and conceit were at the root of schism. "For my part," says he, "I never met with any, if but a schismatical spirit, whom I have not sensibly discerned thus tainted. Take but a separatist, a blue-aproned man, that never knew any better school than his shop-board : if he do not think himself more truly learned than the deepest doctor, and a better interpreter of Scripture than the greatest divine, I am no less mistaken than he. Hence it is, that they affect a singularity, and keep aloof from others, both in practice and opinion ; wherein a proud man is like unto oil, which will ever swim aloft, and will by no means mix with water."

His attitude towards the Brownists was that of one whose own position was impregnable, who, securely entrenched and confident of his strength, could afford to smile at his malicious, though impotent assailants. He twits them with the place of their meeting, "a parlour in a blind lane at Amsterdam ;" their decrees are "parlour decrees," their church a "land-lord Church ;" their numbers are small, "one prison would hold the whole flock."

He girds at their notion of purity, they are a "refined housefull." He is amused at their trifling disputes about the pastor's wife's sleeve, ring, and whalebones, and at their maintaining that knit stockings and cork shoes are flatly forbidden by Scripture. He is shocked by their unnaturalness, which reminded him of Novatus, "the father of a not unlike sect, of whom Cyprian reports, that he would neither bestow bread on his father alive, nor burial on him dead, but suffered him both to starve and stink in the street; and, for his wife, lest he should be merciful to any, he spurned her with his heel, and slew his own child in her body." He grieves to think and report that the Brownist pastor had paralleled this cruelty, inasmuch as he had excommunicated his own father, *sub m.* and all this about a little lace and whalebone in his wife's sleeve. He was able to reflect upon them the disgrace of their "proto-martyr" Barrow, who was executed in 1593, and with the utmost truth could most unfavourably contrast them with the moderate Puritan party at home, than whom they had found no sharper adversaries. They were peevish and petulant. "Let a man stroke them on the back, they snarl at him and show their teeth; let him show them a cudgel, they fly in his face." "Even Rome itself in divers controversy discourses had bewrayed less gall than Amsterdam." In leaving the Church of England they were like guests who, invited to a feast, if but a napkin or a trencher were out of place, or a dish ill-carved, should run from the table and not stay to thank the host. And he does not doubt to say that "the mastership of the Hospital at Norwich or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse) might have

Ham | procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England should not have been made by John Robinson." As for their attacks, the Brownist Ham had discovered "ninety-one nakednesses in his mother, and gloried to show them." The ninety-and-one might be reduced to four—"a hateful prelacy, a devised ministry, a confused and profane communion, an intermixture of grievous errors ;" and these four depended for their truth or falsity upon the Brownists' main position, "that every truth in Scripture is fundamental," and upon the quality of the "separatist's idol, Visible Constitution." The details are too well known to need enumeration, but our opponents' view as to visible constitution is perhaps worth stating in their own words. At the Reformation, they maintained, "the Gospel should have been everywhere preached. All converts should have been singled out; and have given a voluntary and particular confession of their faith and repentance." Hooker's first four books were published in 1594, his fifth in 1597. Hall might thus very well have studied him while resident in Cambridge and fellow of Emmanuel, and with him for his guide, it was no difficult matter to demolish the Brownist strongholds. Hall and Hooker are substantially at one.

r-Rome || To a great historic Church, like that of Rome, his attitude was perforce very different. Rome was terribly diseased ; the truth that was in her was overlaid with erroneous novelties, the accretions of centuries ; she was pretentious and arrogant ; her annals were stained by persecution, intrigue, and bloodshed ; she denied our connection with anti-

quity, and represented us as an upstart Church ; she refused us her communion ; we were like guests, who, because we would not swallow everything put before us by our host, had been turned out of doors. Still, in spite of all this, she was our sister. There is much indignation in Hall when treating of Rome, at times fierceness ; an intense conviction that union, so long as Rome remained unchanged, was impossible ; there is genuine grief that sisters should be so far apart, but there is seldom disdain. The Churches of Rome and England had too much in common for this ; the work of Rome in the world had been too great ; her champions had been and were too able ; her authors too learned. He himself had drunk at the springs of their learning, and was generous enough to speak of them with gratitude and admiration.

Our first glimpse of Hall's attitude towards Arminius is got from his letter to Mr. Jonas Reisebergius in Zealand, written while Arminius was living, and, therefore, before 1610. At that time the opinions subsequently summarised in the "Five Busy Articles" appeared to him subtle novelties ; the setter-forth of them, though a noble son of the Church and a man of excellent parts, a candidate for singularity. If truth were his aim, "where had that sacred verity hid herself thus long from all her careful inquisitors, that she should not first show her head to him unsought?" He seems to hint that some of the opinions might be true, but granting they were, still they were "nice points," and the "harmonious plain song of our peace" ought not to be troubled by "unreasonable crotchets and quavers. Some quiet error may be better than some unruly

truth." At Dort (1618), among his instructions, we have seen, was to "favour no innovations in doctrine, and to conform to the confessions of neighbouring Reformed Churches, but to endeavour to lay down moderate positions." James, at this time, was of Calvinistic bias, but it would be wrong to suppose that Hall, had not sickness hastened his departure from the synod, would have gone with the Calvinists in their partial and sanguinary decrees. His commission allowed scope for moderation (*vide* p. 203), and all the evidence goes to show that he was conspicuously moderate. He does, indeed, remind Davenant how he was heard "with equal vehemency to the rest, crying down the unreasonableness of the way of another sect, whose name is as much hated as little understood," and amongst whom his enemies placed him. This clears him of sympathy with what were called, rightly or wrongly, the Pelagian perversions of Arminius, but he was just as far from pushing matters to the other extreme. His "Via Media" was a noble effort to act as umpire in the strife. We have his own assurance that he therein "carried himself so indifferently, that, as he had hid his own judgment, so he had rather seemed partial against his own resolutions." The differences between the contending parties, particularly as explained by Overall on the one side, and by learned and grave divines on the other, seemed to him, "if a man would appeal to his better thoughts, unworthy of a public division. The schools might pluck hence matter enough for theological problems; but what should either the pulpit or the press do with these busy and bootless brabbles?" It was not likely, Hall himself scarce anticipated, that combatants so fierce would lay aside



*The five
articles*

their arms at a mere statement, such as the "Via Media," of "propositions accorded by both sides and picked out of both as sounding towards concord;" but even though both parts drove at him and beat him, an agent for peace might well rejoice in those blows and scars which he took for the Church's safety.

It was in the year 1617, when Hall accompanied his royal master in the capacity of chaplain to Scotland, that he was first brought into contact with the Presbyterian party. Whether we look at the suggestions of his enemies, or the lines of his defence, it is evident that he bore himself in his wonted manner. They accused him of "overplausible demeanour and doctrine to that already prejudicate people." He fully satisfied the king that his winning carriage could be no hindrance to the design of the king to give a footing in the Church of Scotland to the five articles of Perth. These, it will be remembered, were the observance of holy-days, private baptism, and private celebration of Holy Communion, kneeling at the Eucharist, and confirmation by bishops. He seems to have been much impressed by the misguided zeal of his antagonists, and in his letter to Struthers complains that the Scottish reformers in a "holy furor of piety" had gone somewhat too far, and as it is in the fable, "entrapped the stork together with the cranes." The five articles were no new coins just being put into circulation, but ancient ones, the "rusty and obliterate face" of which the king was desirous to rub up. He maintains them all without the least reserve, building our practice upon general grounds of edification, decency, expedience, peace-

- v. Hooker

able conformity to the injunctions of spiritual governors as sufficient to support them, in opposition to the Presbyterian claim that warrant for them should be produced from Scripture.

In 1629, preaching before the court, he strongly advocated the "commanding of a learned and powerful ministry" for Scotland. "Let true religion be settled in them; and true religion shall settle their hearts to your Majesty, more than all conquests, laws, violences, oaths, endearments whatsoever." He says nothing of the design then entertained by Charles to introduce the English liturgy. It is, I think, almost certain that he was in favour of letting Scotland have its own service-book, which had been prepared by the Scotch bishops upon the basis of the five articles, according to the vote of the general assembly of Perth, 1618, and that without the alterations which were approved by Laud, Wren, and Juxon. In 1637, after much delay, came the attempt to introduce this altered book at Edinburgh. How bitterly Hall regretted the course that had been taken is proved by a few words in his answer to "Smectymnuus' Vindication." "The alteration of the liturgy sent into Scotland," he says, "is a business utterly unconcerning us. Whatever unhappy hands were in it, would God they had been prevented by some seasonable gout or palsy." This vehement disclaimer was not without just ground. All Scotland had been stirred to the very depths, and, like one man, had become the foe of England. Episcopacy in that country had become a symbol of disgrace, so that a bishop in resigning his office had actually apologised for his indiscretion, if not wickedness, in taking it. Hall, in 1639, had

written his "Episcopacy by Divine Right," and had urged that others should be set to work on the same topic. In 1641, stimulated by the Root and Branch Bill, he had addressed his "Humble Remonstrance" to parliament in behalf of Liturgy and episcopacy, and now he was engaged in that controversy which perhaps taxed his strength more than any other. The Smectymnuans had arisen against him, and he was in the thick of the fight. Having descended into the arena, he had of course challenged all comers, and could not expect tender treatment at the hands of those who took up the gauntlet. Never did man fight more gallantly, or acquit himself better against such odds. He, bordering upon three score and ten, stood alone; his assailants six to one, and numbering amongst them the great Milton, as unsparing as he was untiring, and now in the prime of manly vigour at the age of thirty-three. Well might Hall remember the story of Crassus and Deiotarus. "What," said Crassus to Deiotarus, "dost thou begin to build a city, now in the latter end of the day?" "And truly," said Deiotarus to him again, "I think it is somewhat with the latest for you to think of conquering the Parthians." With shaking and wrinkled hands, now "in the very setting and shutting-in of the day, he was building up the city of God, the Evangelical Jerusalem, which some factious hands had miserably demolished." He was, he confessed, a decrepit leader; they were dangerous and not inexpert Parthians who knew how to fight fleeing, and resolved to tire out their adversary with clouds of words, and to do by bulk of body what by clean strength they could not. Any weapon was good enough to use against episcopacy, and they

see Smectymnuans

did not scruple to use anything that came to hand. "Nothing," says Mr. Mark Pattison, "can excuse or reconcile us to the indecent scurrility with which the Bishop is assailed in Milton's pages, which reflect more discredit on him who wrote them, than on him against whom they were written." The Bishop, though episcopal pride was not part of his character, could not fail to feel that there was a dignity attaching to his office, and that the scathing satire and withering sarcasm of his younger years, had he been able to wield it, would not be becoming to the gravity of a father in God. Then again, the opinions discussed had been long ago thoroughly ventilated. "No haycock had been oftener shaken abroad, and tossed up and down in the wind, than every argument of theirs had been agitated by more able pens than his." Why should he spend his last age, devoted to better thoughts, in an unprofitable battling with the Smectymnuans who, he saw, had vowed, like impetuous scolds, to have the last word.

mariano
The last opponents against whom he directed a formal treatise were the believers in a millennium. Their leading prophet was a Mr. John Archer, who had published a work on "The Personal Reign of Christ on Earth: laying forth and proving that Jesus Christ together with the saints shall visibly possess a monarchical state and kingdom in this world," of which work an abridged edition was published in 1643. The author must have had a great reputation, since Hall tells us he was a London divine, "esteemed of so great sanctity and worth as that no mean person doubted not to file him amongst men as precious as any the earth bore in his time." His views had not, however, exclusive predominance.

In the sect were many sects, among them one which held the very suggestive tenet, if we think of the times, that men of the same spirit as the saints were to arise alone worthy of having independent government committed to them. It was in 1650 that Hall, with his "Revelation Unrevealed," combated the error. He regarded the belief as a pious delusion, rather than as an opinion deadly and pernicious in itself. If my soul be at rest in a paradise of bliss, what matters it to me if the souls of others, in resuming their bodies, get the start of me by a thousand years? Or how can it be of importance to any man's salvation whether the saints reign with Christ on earth or in heaven? The danger lay in the "strange paradoxes and uncouth consequences" which followed in the train of the opinion. Men imagined their resurrection or change to be already passed, themselves to be already reigning; they were dating their letters from New Jerusalem, and subscribing themselves glorified. Hall himself believed the coming of our Lord to be near at hand, but that it would be preceded by a more happy and flourishing condition of the Church on earth. "It well becomes modest Christians to rest in revealed truths, and leave the unlocking of the secret cabinets of the Almighty to the only key of his Divine wisdom and omniscience, as remembering the words of our Saviour, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven."

Such were Hall's chief opponents, and such his varying attitudes towards them. The differences are striking, but one characteristic is common to all—from first to last he is conciliatory. Even when he blows the trumpet loudest, and proclaims "No

Peace with Rome," if we search deep enough, we find that his lips are more warlike than his heart, that he seeks peace and ensues it. The truth is that, though he inclined to this or that party more than to others, his intellectual position was above all parties, and he himself belonged to the distinguished company of those who, amid the schism with which Christendom has been torn, have from time to time come forth as repairers of the breach, and restorers of the habitation of souls. The writings of Hall are a picture gallery of the worthies of all time. Not in the spirit of Carlyle, who consumed his own smoke only to make the fire of his wrath burn more, fiercely against the objects of his displeasure, but for the most part with the temper of one whose heart was aglow with Christian charity, Hall, in a few felicitous words, gives us his estimate of those who had furnished his mind and supplied him with the weapons of controversy. Of none had he a more genuine appreciation than of the great peacemakers, whose example he so steadily imitated. Cusanus, who as the legate of Pope Eugenius IV. had endeavoured to bring about union between the east and west, and who had suffered imprisonment for attempting to reform his own convent; Contarini, the attractive force at Ratisbon, through whose exertions Catholicism and Protestantism in 1541 might be said to be almost in conjunction; Bucer, the worthy, moderate, and learned first Dominican, then Lutheran, subsequently of Zwinglian tendency, who, at Marburg in 1529, and again in 1536 at Würtemberg, had striven for a reconciliation between the two great Protestant camps, who persuaded two universities, Strasburg and Mem-

mingen, to change their opinions on the Eucharist, and to adopt the doctrine of the real presence, and for a time was the ornament of a third, our own Cambridge, the assistant of Hermann and the adviser of our own reformers ; Melanchthon, "a great light of Germany," the framer of the Augsburg confession, who, as Luther said, knew how to tread softly, and for his pains in keeping what was good of the old and blending it with what was true in the new, was stigmatised as an adiaphorist ; Ferus, the learned Franciscan of Lutheran sentiments, whose works were said by the Romanists to have been corrupted by the Protestants, and whose Commentary on St. Matthew, five years after his death in 1554, was suppressed by the Sorbonne on account of the errors and heresies it was supposed to contain ; George Cassander, "a learned papist and grave divine," chosen by the two emperors, Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., to propitiate their Lutheran subjects, contemplated by the Prince of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Horn as the agent in their project for the pacification of the Netherlands, one of whose books was attacked by Calvin, while another, though it advocated the abandonment of speculative theology and a return to the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers, specially those from Constantine to Leo and Gregory, beguiled the weariness of the imprisoned Romanist King of Poland, and was afterwards published at his expense ; the famous Francis Junius, Divinity Professor at Leyden and at Heidelberg, who "had nothing more admirable than his love of peace," who, when "our busy separatists appealed him, with a sweet calmness rejected them, and with a grave importunity called them to

moderation ;"—these, whose names are like oases in pages of dreary controversy, were the men with whom Hall loved to be associated as a mediator of the Church.

In this connection it is interesting to note the independence of his mind. It is not surprising that he should refuse to be led by Luther. He speaks of him as a great light of Germany, even as heroic; he defends him against the infamous slanders and vile jests levelled at his marriage with Catharine Bora; he could commend his charitable temper; but he describes him as a man of a hot and stiff spirit, overblunt and passionate, with faults of judgment. Calvin, on the contrary, at first sight appears to meet with his unqualified admiration; he is learned, judicious, and moderate; of a charitable temper, yet did well approve himself to God's Church in bringing Servetus to the stake; he is the just glory of the French Church, and his authority is justly wont to sway so much with all Reformed Churches. So far, so good; but when Hall has to choose between Calvin and the Anglican Church, he does not, at least in his maturer judgment, hesitate a moment. The Smectymnuans quoted against him Calvin's description of our Prayer Book as *tolerabiles ineptiæ*. How does Hall retort? "As for that sharp censure of learned Mr. Calvin's, *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, it might well have been forborne by him *in alienâ republicâ*, and, by you, to press it upon our own; we honour the name of that noble instrument of God's glory in His Church; yet, withal, we fear not to say, without any disparagement to his worth, that our Liturgy, both in the frame and survey of it, passed the judgment of no less reverend heads

than his own. Neither would you think it could become any of our greatest divines to meddle with the wafers, or Lord's day markets of his charge ; let every Church take care of their own affairs." As for Calvin's predecessors, Farell and Viret, who "rough-hewed the statue which Calvin after polished," he is no less incisive, though somewhat less courteous. For the former, he wishes that he had lived and died in his Vapincum where he was born, instead of introducing his new form of Church government ; for the latter, "when Viret came once into the file, here was, at the least, fervour enough. The spirit of that man is well seen in his Dialogue of White Devils."

This conciliatory temper and independence, triumphing over the effects of early training, may perhaps to a great extent be accounted for by the width of his reading and the vast variety of authors who contributed to the formation of his mind. He was a careful reader of the Fathers ; and has left us his impressions of two or three :—S. Augustine he considered the most eminent ; Jerome was a waspish and hot good man ; Ambrose a renowned archbishop and metropolitan, and of so holily high a strain, that he would not abate one inch of archiepiscopal port and power, no, not to an emperor. But with more modern authors he was well acquainted. Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel in Hall's time, had while fellow of Christ's lectured on the *Ars Logica* of Peter Ramus, and is said to have roused a great interest in that study through the university. There can, therefore, be little doubt that Hall was at least to some extent acquainted with the new logic, and was, relatively to his time, much in the same position

as a divinity student acquainted with Mill would be at the present day. Gerson, one of the leading spirits in the councils of Pisa and Constance, long reputed the author of the "Imitation," had come under his close examination ; so, too, Peter Martyr, whom he considered profound ; the learned Casaubon, with his two means of deciding controversies—Scripture and antiquity ; the famously-learned Joseph Scaliger, who was called the ocean of knowledge and the chef-d'œuvre of nature ; Beza, whom he calls a long-fixed star in the firmament of the Church ; wise Fregiville, "a deep head and one that was able to cut even between the League, the Church and the State ;" learned Mornay (Du Plessis), of the same period, keen Calvinist, brave soldier, eloquent writer, who pointed Henry of Navarre to better things, and was rewarded with a royal jest,—Mornay, "the great glory of the Reformed Church of France, an author past exception ;" Saravia, the first to put episcopacy on the basis of a Divine institution, the friend of Hooker, in whose arms he died, and many others.

A special interest will, however, attach to two classes of books studied by Hall ; on the one hand, those of interpreters and commentators on Holy Scripture, and on the other, those of eminent divines, who up to that time had shed lustre on our and their common Church. As with his general reading, so in the study of the Bible, he did not confine himself to one school or to one country. Calvin, of course, he had at his fingers' ends, and no greater commentator, he thought, had arisen. But with Calvin as "judicious interpreters" he classed Zanchius, Pagnino, and Cornelius a Lapide

—no slight testimony to the splendid catholicity of Hall. Basilio Zanchius was a Greek scholar and commentator, patronised at Rome by Leo X. for his elegant Latin poetry, imprisoned to the death at Pisa by Paul IV. His cousin, Girolamo Zanchi, was the companion of our Peter Martyr in his flight from Italy, and became divinity professor at Heidelberg. Pagnino, the Dominican, who, like Zanchi, found a patron in Leo X., devoted twenty-five years to a translation of the Bible, and was the author of a Hebrew lexicon and grammar. Cornelius a Lapide, the famous Jesuit, is too well known to need a word of description. Junius, "given to this last age for a great light to the Holy Text," was, Hall considered, "a famous and truly illuminate doctor, the glory of Leyden, the oracle of textual and school-divinity; rich in language, subtle in distinguishing, and in argument invincible." Arias Montanus, the famous Orientalist, had (1569-1572) edited the polyglot Bible, called the Antwerp Polyglot, in 8 vols. folio, and had been rewarded by Philip II. with a pension of 2,000 ducats. Hall describes him as "the learned Spaniard, whose labours are famous for that noble edition of the whole sacred volume," but complains that in illustrating the Apocalypse he shames himself with his improbable glosses, and by his ridiculous abstracts moves both the wonder and pity of the judicious of either religion. Castellio's paraphrase he deemed elegant, painstaking, and useful. Sadeel, the French Huguenot, chaplain to Henry of Navarre, and, after the reconciliation of the king to Rome, pastor and Hebrew professor at Geneva, he characterises as "acute;" Ferus, already spoken of,

as "a great text man ;" Capellus, as "the French oracle of Hebrew learning ;" he was also familiar with the Hebrew works of Peter Fagius, "the dead martyr of Cambridge ;" and with the writings of Scultetus, whose opinion on episcopacy and on lay elders, translated out of the observations upon the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, he affixed to his "Defence of the Humble Remonstrance."

Of the many authors whom the Bishop read only or mainly to combat, Bellarmine and others (though he did not disdain to take an arrow even from their quiver), nothing need be said in this connection ; I proceed rather to those rich mines of English thought so diligently worked by him. Preaching before Convocation in February 1623, he said :—"It is a great word that I shall speak ; and yet I must and will say it, without all either arrogance or flattery ; *stupor mundi clerus Britannicus* : the wonder of the world is the clergy of Britain. So many learned divines, so many eloquent preachers, shall in vain be sought elsewhere this day, in whatever region under the cope of heaven. What should I reckon up those great lights of our Church, not long since set ; Jewells, Humphreys, Foxes, Whitgifts, Fulkes, Whitakers, Reynolds, Bilsons, Greenhams, Playfairs, Abbotses, Perkinses, Fields, Hookers, Overalls, Willets, Whites, Masons ? There are now of you under this very roof, that hear me this day, in whose just praises I could be content to spend, not an hour, but a life ; were it not that mutual modesty enjoins me silence." How sincere was the praise thus given, and how truly catholic the spirit which prompted it, is evidenced by every page of his writings. Incidental

notices of individuals scattered up and down, and separated by considerable intervals of time, are surer proofs of an author's estimate of them than the measured words addressed to an assembly of their order. Now such notices abound. There is scarcely a name in the above list which is not to be found elsewhere with some terse description of the bearer of it. In his letter to Bedell, then chaplain to Sir W. Wotton, on his embassy to Venice, Hall, as here, laments the extinguishing by death of so many bright lights of the Church at home and abroad. Fulk, Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, the defender of our English Versions of the Bible, the attacker of the Rheims Translation of the New Testament, distinguished even amongst his brethren by his virulence against Rome, had been the first to die in 1589. He was "a profound, ready, and resolute doctor ; the hammer of heretics ; the champion of truth : " whom Hall's younger times had heard oft disputing acutely and powerfully. Next him followed (in 1595) that honour of our schools, and angel of our Church, learned Whitaker, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, than whom our age saw nothing more memorable : what clearness of judgment, what sweetness of style, what gravity of person, what grace of carriage was in that man ! Who ever saw him without reverence, or heard him without wonder ? "

Next are mentioned Greenham and Perkins. Fuller's testimony here supports that of Hall. "For the former," says Fuller, "no book in that age made more impression on people's practice than his on the Sabbath ; " for the latter, "all held Perkins" (the author of the "*Armillæ Aurea*") for a prophet. "I mean,

for a painful and powerful defender of God's will in his word." Hall's account of them is:—"I cannot without injury omit that worthy pair of our late divines, whereof the one excelled in experimental divinity, and knew well how to stay a weak conscience, how to raise a fallen, how to strike a remorseless: the other, in a distinct judgment, and a rare dexterity in clearing the obscure subtleties of the school, and easy explication of the most perplex discourses." Doctor Reynolds, the influential President of Christ Church College, Oxford, in 1607, was the last in the procession of worthies, "not in worth, but in the time of his loss. He alone was a well-furnished library, full of all faculties, of all studies, of all learning: the memory, the reading of that man, were near to a miracle." One great divine is passed over, and it is hard to account for the omission. Hooker died in 1600. How is it that Hall says nothing of him? Had he a regard for the sympathies of the future Bishop of Kilmore, or what was it? At all events, elsewhere he does him full justice, not only quoting him again and again, but with a generous admiration of his distinguished qualities testifying to his profoundness, his elegance and solidity, his gravity and modesty. "Nothing of his," he tells the Smectymnuans, "can be unwelcome to us. Neither doubt we that you will be no less edified by his last works, if they may see the light, than with the first. That man doth not look as if he meant to contradict his own truths." Jewell he calls "the rich and precious jewell of England," and declares that "he is no judicious man with whom one Jewell will not outweigh ten thousand separatists." Andrews is the "renowned Bishop of Winchester, the late admirable, that oracle

of our present times, incomparably learned," and his sermon on the Resurrection is cited by Hall, himself in the foremost rank of preachers. Field, as temperate as he was able and learned, and Bilson, the unreserved advocate of apostolical succession, whose work on the subject is pronounced by Mr. Perry to be the "most complete and useful which this particular strife produced," alike win Hall's approval. Thus, to say nothing of many others to whom he was indebted, with liberal but discriminating hand he awards his praise to all loyal soldiers of the Church he loved so well, from our most advanced outposts on the side of Rome to the extreme of our position against the schismatic and the separatist. If he has no commendation for Williams or for Laud, it must be remembered that the former was more of a statesman than a Churchman, who before all things else believed in himself and the necessity of taking care of himself, while the latter, with his utter inability to understand the simplest matters of policy and his stubborn self-will, could not fail, however true at heart, to be regarded by a man like Hall as the worst enemy of the good cause which he was so zealous to promote.

Such were the sources of our author's strength ; the chiefest among the Fathers, the wisest of the Renaissance, the greatest and best of those our own Church had furnished up to about the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. If an opinion may be ventured, the two men to whom he was most indebted for the substance of his religious thought were Calvin and Hooker ; the one from whom he took the colouring of thought and feeling was

Erasmus. He was familiar with the latter's editions of the Fathers and the classics, with his epistles and formal treatises ; he had read him, and studied him, and pondered him until heart and mind had become saturated with him. He deemed him a great scholar, true, moderate, and wise. He tells us alike of his philosophic tenets and of his personal habits—how he could not eat fish, and how, after refusing offers of high preferment, he wished to die out of debt, but to have only just so much money left as might serve to bring him honestly to his grave. It was from Erasmus that he learnt to cultivate that moderation and independence in judgment which nature had so bountifully bestowed upon him. But there were striking differences between them. Erasmus was first literary, then devotional ; Hall was above all devotional, and the benign influence of constant contemplation upon heavenly things is felt even when he is most bitter, and seldom fails to give him a demeanour immeasurably above that of his assailants. Erasmus saw the follies and frivolities of mankind with the eye of the cultured man of travel, whose experience has made him cynical rather than charitable ; Hall, too, as we shall see, could laugh, and skilfully employ a jest for piercing an enemy's armour, but he is full of love. Both esteemed truth of paramount importance ; both were prepared to suffer for it ; said Erasmus, "I had rather be torn in pieces by the furious abettors of both sides than be in the wrong ;" Hall asserts that he was willing to die for it. But they did not look at truth from exactly the same point of view, and herein perhaps is the chief characteristic difference. To the mind

of Erasmus there were conceivable circumstances under which truth might be subordinated to something else. Assuming the truth to be a vital one, Hall would not deviate from it by a hair's breadth. In his letter to Bilibaldus, Erasmus "professeth that he ascribes so much to the authority of the Church, that if she had thought meet to have allowed the opinion of Arius or Pelagius, he should have assented thereto," that is, as the context shows, in the interests of peace. Whereupon Hall comments as follows:—"This is too much servility. In these manifest and plain truths we have no reason to make flesh our arm. If all the world should face me down, that the sun shines not, I would be pardoned to believe my eyes; and if all the philosophers under heaven should, with Zeno, defend that there is no motion, I would, with Diogenes, confute them by walking. But, in all these verities which are disputable and free for discourse, let me ever be swayed by the sacred authority of that orthodox Church wherein I live."

This intense devotion to truth was a characteristic of Hall throughout his career. In rising from the level of a country vicar, patronised and poor, to the dignity of the most popular bishop in England, he was not like Baldwin of whom he tells us, who was greeted by Pope Urban in the style of a fervent monk, a warm abbot, a lukewarm bishop, a key-cold archbishop. A Laodicean lukewarmness was ever in his eyes criminal. Truth was a sacred thing purchased with martyrs' blood, and the various refuges of lies in which men take shelter in order to avoid the painfulness of searching for, and the responsibility of embracing or rejecting the truth,

he pitilessly laid bare. Those who maintained the differences in religions to be merely verbal appeared to him not much wiser than those who held religion to be a "matter of nothing." He had little regard for a fashionable Christian, who allowed himself to be a mere appendage to a great name, or made his hat and collar the index to the contents of his mind, or joined the ranks of some society more from policy than principle. He could not away with the brainless passivity and colourless creed of those who never think for themselves and plume themselves upon their orthodoxy. Such men reminded him of the Abyssinian Churches, "where, if one man sneeze, all the rest do and must follow,—men like unto moss, which takes still the property of the bark it grows upon ! if upon the oak, it cools and binds ; if upon the pine and fir, it digests and softens ; or, like unto the herbalist's dodder, which is so simple in itself, but takes both its name and temper from the herb out of which it arises ; if out of thyme, it is epithimium ; if out of the nettle, it is epiurtica."

It is to this keen appreciation of the claims of truth that we must chiefly attribute the frequency with which Hall took up his pen, forsaking the more congenial task of meditating and commenting upon the Scriptures. The age in which he lived was an age of controversy. With a king upon the throne who had trained himself in theology, and in spite of numerous failings was more than a nominal defender of the views he held ; at a time when a College of Controversial Divinity at Chelsea was regarded as a necessity, it is not surprising that chief officers and subalterns in the Church should alike exhibit an extraordinary devotion to Christian

polemics. Hall, no doubt, himself to some extent in his earlier years drifted with the current. The author of the "Satires" must, moreover, have had an element of aggressiveness in his character. Impulsive he certainly was. His "Twenty Catholic Propositions" were dashed off with an hour's labour. Of his reply to "Pope Urban's Inurbanity" he says, "I do not meditate, but pour forth this answer." The "Honour of the Married Clergy" was conceived and brought to light in six weeks. But when all is said, his love for truth remains the chief motor power.

Our modesty is spared the pain of looking for Hall's faults. They have been pointed out in detail by the keen-eyed critics who were his deadliest opponents. The Brownists, with a "grave bitterness," charged him, "first, with presumption upon advantages; secondly, weak and weightless discourse; thirdly, ignorance of the cause censured." Hall's reply is sufficient, "It had been madness in him to write, if he had not presumed upon advantages, not of the times, however, but of the cause, the truth; as to the second charge, that the fault lay in the expectation of his enemies, he meant but a short epistle, they looked belike for a volume or nothing; for the third, there never was any scribbler so unlearned as that he durst not charge his opposite with ignorance. What cobbler or spinster had not heard of the main holds of Brownism? Was he only a stranger in Jerusalem? If he did not know all their opinions, he might be pardoned. Their own followers had not received that illumination; he spoke boldly, not the leaders themselves. Every day brought new conceits, and every day not only

taught, but corrected another." The charges brought against him by the Smectymnuans were formidable. They accuse him of overlash in accusations, of the partial treatment of arguments, of contradictions and inconsistencies. An impartial reader must, I think, consider that Hall ably and amply vindicates himself as to the points immediately urged, and upon a wider survey will admit that there is little or no basis for the impeachment. When, however, they urge against him "railings, revilings, scornings, never the like since Montague's appeal;" when they tax him with being a *confitens reus*, and talk of his "daring protestations and bold asseverations," the thought occurs whether they were not, partially at least, justified in their plea.

That there is much in Hall's writings which at the present time would be deemed scurrilous, and would be vigorously excluded by the advocates of even the freest discussion, is undeniable. But the writer of two hundred and fifty years ago must not be judged by the standard of to-day. Compared with either his opponents, Roman and Puritan, or with those upon his own side, he has nothing to fear. He does, indeed, say that he never knew a papist who made conscience of the ten commandments; that in the popish churches there was scarce anything said or done whereof he could be either partaker or witness; he does make an extensive application of the "Great Whore," and speak of the "brazen-faced parasites of Rome;" his adversary is characterised as "childish," "an obscure libeller," "a scurril mass-priest," "a silly refuter," "a spider-catcher, corner-creeper, pseudo-catholic priest;" in combating the Smectymnuans he uses many ex-

pressions fairly open to censure if spoken of persons and not of things, as he says, they were, "false and frivolous exceptions," "vain cavils," "a riot of assailants," "envious suggestion," etc. We must confess that strange flowers of rhetoric were in his garden, although the Bishop wondered they should ever grow there. But what of the other side? Heylin tells us the Puritan libellers (and their tone was perpetuated long after the libellers as such passed away) "could find no other title for the archbishop than Beelzebub of Canterbury, Pope of Lambeth, the Canterbury Caiaphas, Esau, a monstrous antichrist, a most bloody opposer of God's saints, a very anti-Christian beast, most bloody tyrant. The bishops are described as unlawful, unnatural, false, and bastardly governors of the Church, the ordinances of the devil, petty popes, petty antichrists, incarnate devils, bishops of the devil, cogging cozening knaves, who will lie like dogs. They are proud, popish, profane, presumptuous, paltry, pestilent, pernicious prelates and usurpers, enemies of God and the state. The clergy are popish priests, or monks, or friars, ale-haunters, or boys, or lads, or drunkards, and dolts, hogs, dogs, wolves, foxes, simoniacs, usurpers, proctors of antichrist, popish chapmen, halting neutrals, greedy dogs to fill their paunches, desperate and forlorn atheists, a cursed uncircumcised murdering generation, a crew of bloody soul murderers, sacrilegious church robbers, and followers of antichrist." The Smectymnuans spoke of Hall's bravado, treason, arrogancy, falsities and contradictions, face of confident boldness, words bordering on blasphemy; stigmatised him as a "notorious ——," asserted that he would "not leave his ——"; they could not prosecute his

falsities for indignation ; represented episcopacy as a "stirrup for antichrist," the fountain of "pride, rebellion, treason, unthankfulness," themselves devoutly thanked God they were clear of it. As for Rome, as years passed by, Hall's early violence became much moderated, and he who had cried "No Peace with Rome" was denounced as a papist. Is it a marvel that with the shrieks of the massacred at St. Bartholomew's still ringing in men's ears and the memory of the Armada still fresh in their recollection, the denunciation of the cause of both should sometimes be as unmeasured as it was well deserved? What heresy from Simon Magus upwards did not Rome attempt to fasten on us? What lie had not been invented against us? What name, however great, had been free from the foulest abuse? Cranmer's marriage, for prudential motives concealed, was represented as licentiousness; Wickliffe was taxed with blasphemy; Luther was said to be advised by the devil, and his followers to be addicted to obscene night revels; Tindal preached community; Calvin died a blasphemous death. Our orders were transmitted through Scory's drunken ordination at the Nag's Head in Cheapside. All this (and it is but a tithe of what could be produced) being in free circulation and firmly believed by thousands, it is surely surprising that a champion of our Church should have been able to let mercy at any time triumph over judgment, and so to carry himself as to gain with posterity the admiration and affectionate esteem of all who love a temperate adversary.

The charge that he had surrendered in things most material, is of so damaging a character, if true, and so plausible from the tendency of moderation

in judgment to err on the side of weak compliance, that Hall had better speak for himself. "Were it so, readers," he replies, "as they pretend, that I come nearer to their" (the Smectymnuans') "tenets than some others, one would think they should, in this, find cause to acknowledge and embrace mine ingenuity, rather than to insult upon me as in way of disgrace. I wis it is not the force of their argutation, that could move me one foot forward; but, if God's blessing upon my free disquisition of truth should have so wrought upon my better-composed thoughts, as that I should have yielded to go some steps further than others towards the meeting of peace, one would not think this should yield any fit matter of exprobration; but, the truth is, I have not departed one inch from either my own tenet, or from the received judgment of our orthodox divines."

That Hall did make "daring protestations and bold asseverations," and display much self-confidence, is certainly true. The "resolute averment" that he would forfeit his life to justice and his reputation to shame if any living man could show any Lay-Presbyter in the world, till Farell and Viret first created him, was, of course, exceedingly offensive to the clan of Smectymnuus. But he was equally confident towards Roman antagonists. In the "Honour of the Married Clergy" he said:—"It is a large and bold word; but, if any one clause of mine be unproved, if any one clause of mine be disproved, any one exception against my defence proved just, any one charge of his" (C. E., *i.e.*, Edward Coffins') "proved true, any one falsehood of mine detected, any one argument of mine refelled, any

one argument or proposition of his not refelled,—let me go away convicted with shame. But, if I have answered every challenge, vindicated every authority" (in a note he excepts one slip of the pen), "justified every proof, wiped out every cavil, affirmed no proposition untruly, censured nothing unjustly, satisfied all his malicious objections, and warranted every sentence of my poor epistle,—let my apology live and pass, and let my refuter go as he is, C. E., *cavillator egregius*." It would be difficult to match this as a specimen of confidence. Such confidence, however, has at least the merit of honesty, and is certainly not inconsistent with the most profound humility. One word before parting from Hall's imputed faults concerning the manifest unfairness of those who drew up the indictment against him. He had said that episcopacy was cried down abroad by either weak or factious persons. By *abroad* he meant outside the walls of the parliament house; *they* wire-drew his words as far as France, Germany, and Geneva, and made him condemn all divines, all Churches. Following Juvenal's

"Quamquam digressu veteris confusus amici,"

he had in describing his sorrow said he was "confounded;" *they* like "deep philologers, as not seeming to know other sense, took it of a confoundedness through distraction." *He* had said episcopal government derived itself from the apostles' times; *they* made him affirm this of diocesan bishops and ranked it amongst his "notorious ——." *He* maintained that episcopal government had continued "without any interruption;" *they* told him of some places of the world where

the government was never known for many years together. *He* held that nothing could be more certain than this truth ; *they* instanced against him articles of the Creed ! Hall might well wonder whether they spoke in simplicity or scorn, and, with a pardonable sarcasm, remark that "wanton wits must have leave to play with their own stern."

It will be a more pleasant labour to turn to the excellences of our author. First among these was his dislike of dogmatic vagueness where definiteness could be had, and as a consequence of this his clearness and precision of statement. Although he had learned to lay his hand on his mouth where God and the Church had been silent, yet he thought it possible for men to wrong themselves "in an overcautious fear of delivering sufficiently-revealed truths." It is seldom difficult to grasp his meaning. A rich vocabulary, a piercing intellect, a never-failing supply of illustrations drawn from all quarters of his extensive and varied reading, and, above all, the complete crystallisation of truth in his own mind, enabled him to state his opinions, within the limits he himself marks out, with a lucidity which has scarcely ever been surpassed and but seldom equalled.

There is frequently in his most serious pages a vein of humour, which again and again turns the wilderness into a standing water and maketh watersprings of a dry ground. The Brownists spoke of our "great idol, the Communion Book." "Behold," says Hall, "here are two new idols ; our Ordinary and our Service Book ; a speaking idol, and a written idol ! Calicut hath one strange deity, the devil : Siberia, many ; whose people worship, every

day, what they see first. Rome hath many merry saints, but Saint Ordinary and Saint Service Book were never heard of till your canonisation." Luther granted that Rome had the *kernel* of Christianity; says Hall, "it was an ill descent that a nimble papist made upon the concession, 'If we have the kernel, let them take the shell.' Soft, friend, you are too witty. Luther did not give you the kernel, and reserve us the shell: he yielded you both kernel and shell, such as it is; but the shell rotten, the kernel worm-eaten. Make much of your kernel; but, as you have used it, it is but a bitter morsel. Swallow that if you please, and save the shell in your pocket."

A great secret of his controversial success was his strong common sense. He by no means belonged to the very numerous class described by Mr. Mill as the bigots of common sense; he would not admit the justness of the Roman taunt, that Protestantism had no philosophers on its side: but, where faith was in question, he remembered St. Chrysostom's: "To conceive of Divine things by philosophy is no other than to take out a red-hot iron with our fingers, and not with tongs;" or St. Augustine's "Yield God able to do something, which thou art not able to understand;" and the opinion of Erasmus often ran in his thoughts that the Church first began to decline to the worse when her doctrine began to depend upon the aid of philosophy. Then came "sophistical contentions, and thousands of new articles." He had little patience with the questions and answers of the schools, in which it might be gravely debated whether it were possible *equitare sine equo*. He does, indeed, sometimes display

philosophical acumen ; in the main, however, competent and unbiassed readers of Hall would probably find the staple of his arguments to be solid and accurate learning applied with good common sense. It is hard to see how it could have been otherwise. The bent of his mind was undoubtedly towards the imaginative, the poetical, and the concrete, rather than towards the speculative, the philosophical, and the abstract. At the same time, all the resources of the rhetorician and the skilled debater were at his command, an instinctive knowledge of human nature, marvellous dexterity in retort, a ready play on words, biting sarcasm, and mocking irony. These last were not always chastened, and, far from being ornaments, seem to the reader disfigurements of debate. Nevertheless, to one who enters the lists with adversaries such as Hall contended against, they are indispensable weapons of warfare ; nor perhaps could another be found, who, having shafts so sharp and polished and ability to use them, would let his moderation and charitable temper be so clearly seen and plainly heard amid the smoke and din of battle.

The resultant of these various forces is a style peculiarly attractive. It is not, like Milton's prose, a rushing torrent, hurrying you along through eddying thoughts and down cataracts of words, until, half breathless, you are left you scarce know where. It does not, like Hooker's periods, march with measured stateliness to mental music. The author whom Hall most resembles is his great contemporary, Jeremy Taylor. A judge of no mean reputation has said that we might not for a short time discover which we were reading. Yet an attentive

reader would miss in Hall the logically close and somewhat too poetically illustrated argument of Taylor ; moreover, in originality he lags behind. To lack these qualities, however, is not altogether loss. Whatever else may be wanting, there is a terseness and elegance, a force and vigour, a sprightliness and, in his later works, a dignity which make the handling of dusty and half-forgotten controversies rather pleasant than irksome.

One word, before parting with this subject, as to what Hall had learnt from his many campaigns and the numerous battles he had fought. Theological controversy only dies to live again. The experience of a veteran may be of use to some who feel themselves called upon to wield the pen. In his letter to his friend Mr. H. Cholmley, Hall remarks as follows :—" How true, how just soever the plea be, I find, such is the self-love and partiality of our corrupt nature, the quarrel is enlarged by multiplying of words. When I see a fire quenched with oil, I will expect to see a controversy of this nature " (that of the true visibility of the Roman Church) " stinted by public altercation. New matter still rises in the agitation, and gives hint to a fore-resolved opposite of a fresh disquisition : so as we may sooner see an end of the common peace, than of an unkindly jar in the Church, especially such an one as is fomented with a mistaken zeal on the one side, and with a confidence of knowledge on the other."



CHAPTER XVII.

THE TOWER.—NORWICH.

THE House of Commons met on October 20th (1641), and the implacable temper of the Puritan faction was ere long most clearly manifested. They had for some time been meditating a remonstrance on the state of the Church and the kingdom ; but Charles, who had begun to listen to judicious counsellors among statesmen such as Hall among the bishops, by his apparent readiness to redress grievances and willingness to make at least temporary concessions, had been rapidly regaining the affection of his subjects. The occasion for any remonstrance appeared to have passed away, when his relentless enemies, taking advantage of the horror excited by the Irish rebellion and the massacre of English Protestants, who, without regard to age, sex, or condition, stripped of their goods and even of their very clothes, were subjected to every torture which fiendish cruelty could devise, once more determined to present their remonstrance. With pitiless rhetoric every crime, real or imaginary, of which Charles had been guilty since his accession, through the space of fifteen years, was insisted on ; and every misfortune was traced to the one great central misdemeanour of the king in having encouraged the machinations of so-called popish intriguers, bent on

introducing their superstitions everywhere. The intention, says Mr. Hallam, could scarcely have been any other than, on the one hand, to exasperate the king and provoke him into further indiscretions ; on the other, to reanimate discontents almost appeased and once more to rouse the jealous suspicions of the populace.

In the former the framers of the remonstrance did not for the present succeed, but in the latter they were more than successful. The fury of the people was unbounded against the bishops. The well-known lines of "Hudibras" afford a striking picture of what followed :—

" The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudged away to cry ' No bishop ;'
Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
And fell to turn and patch the Church.
Some cried the Covenant instead
Of pudding-pies, and gingerbread ;
Instead of kitchen-stuff some cry
A gospel-preaching ministry ;
And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
No surplices or service-book."

And we are irresistibly reminded of that speech in which Hall told the Lords he had been credibly informed there were in London and the suburbs no fewer than fourscore congregations of sectaries, instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, feltmakers, and such like trash, all of them taught to spit in the face of their mother, the Church of England, to defy and revile her government, and to match papists and prelates together, like oxen in a yoke. No more vivid description of the scenes at Westminster could be given than that which Hall's own pen has supplied :—



"The rabble of London, after their petitions cunningly and upon other pretences procured, were stirred up to come to the Houses personally to crave justice both against the Earl of Strafford, first ; and then against the Archbishop of Canterbury ; and, lastly, against the whole order of bishops ; which, coming at first unarmed, were checked by some well-willers and easily persuaded to gird on their rusty swords, and so accoutred came by thousands to the Houses, filling all the outer rooms, offering foul abuses to the bishops as they passed, crying out, 'No bishops, no bishops !' and, at last, after divers days' assembling, grown to that height of fury that many of them, whereof Sir Richard Wiseman professed (though to his cost) to be captain, came with resolution of some violent courses, insomuch that many swords were drawn hereupon at Westminster, and the rout did not stick openly to profess that they would pull the bishops in pieces. Messages were sent down to them from the Lords. They still held firm, both to the place and their bloody resolutions. It now grew to be torch-light. One of the Lords, the Marquis of Hertford, came up to the bishops' form, told us that we were in great danger, advised us to take some course for our own safety, and, being desired to tell us what he thought was the best way, counselled us to continue in the parliament house all that night. 'For,' saith he, 'these people vow they will watch you at your going out, and will search every coach for you with torches, so as you cannot escape.' Hereupon the House of Lords was moved for some order for the preventing their mutinous and riotous meetings. Messages were sent down to the House of Commons to this purpose more than once. Nothing was effected ; but for the present (forsomuch as all the danger was at the rising of the House) it was earnestly desired of the Lords that some care might be taken of our safety. The motion was received by some lords with a smile. Some other lords, as the Earl of Manchester, undertook the protection of the Archbishop of York and his company (whose shelter I went under) to

their lodgings. The rest, some of them by their long stay, others by secret and far-fetched passages, escaped home."

These events took place on December 27th. The bishops, having resolved not to venture any more to the House without some better assurance of safety, the Archbishop of York (Williams) sent for them to his lodgings, and advised them to protest both to His Majesty and to parliament against any such Acts as should be made during the time of their enforced absence. For this course, he said, there were many precedents; if they did not adopt it, they would betray their trust and abdicate the rights of themselves and their successors. Relying upon his legal knowledge they assented, and a "petition and protestation, being fair written," was sent round to them at their lodgings for signature, which they readily subscribed, though intending to have some further conference before finally presenting it. The proposed plan was to deliver it to His Majesty's secretary, then to His Majesty, and, after that, by the hand of Littleton, the Speaker, to the House of Lords. What was really done we are not told, but all these professed not to have perused it; and it is certain that Littleton, who was obnoxious to the Puritans and anxious to ingratiate himself with them, read the protest openly to the peers, adding some inflammatory remarks in which he represented it as highly offensive and of dangerous consequence. It was now sent down to the Commons, and was there entertained "heinously." Some thought it worse than the powder plot, while all, excepting one charitable member who said he thought them mad and that Bedlam was a fitter place for them than the Tower,



were agreed that the bishops were guilty of treason. The protest upon which so serious a charge was based was not, Mr. Hallam considers, perhaps entirely well expressed, but was abundantly justifiable in its argument by the plainest principles of law.*

Hall, to his astonishment, was now, in company with Archbishop Williams and ten other bishops, suddenly called upon to answer the charge of high treason, and on December 30th, in all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, they were all voted to the Tower. Two of the number, the Bishops of Durham and Lichfield, by reason of age, were favoured in being committed to the custody of Black Rod, but a similar concession for Hall, though sued for in his behalf by one of the lay lords, was refused. For the denial the Bishop was afterwards deeply grateful. Had he been gratified, he tells us, he must have suffered both in body and purse, the rooms being small and the expense more than his estate could bear ; but at the time, a man approaching threescore and ten, however cheerful and resigned, could not fail to have some misgivings. Thus gloomily for the prisoners ended the year 1641. In the city their imprisonment was celebrated with ringing of bells and bonfires. They were given up with great triumph by their well-wishers for lost men. Their perfidiousness was everywhere the theme, and they were adjudged to what foul deaths the multitude pleased. Scurrilous and malicious pamphlets, blazoning their infamy and exaggerating their offence, were circulated even in foreign parts.

On January 4th the attempt was made to arrest

* Appendix III., page 430.

the five members, Pym, Hampden, Hazelrigg, Hollis, and Strode; and after this fatal mistake Charles had no alternative but to submit to the demands of his enemies, or decide the contest with the sword. For the immediate present the former was his course. The bishops being under restraint, advantage was taken of their absence to renew the bill for taking away the episcopal vote, which, twice before rejected since the beginning of the session, was at length on February 6th, in a very thin House, easily passed by the Lords. The Commons, it will be remembered, had passed it before. Charles, it would appear, had forgotten his father's dictum, "No bishop, no king." He assented to the measure, and thus swept away the great bulwark of the throne. The event once more was celebrated with "great ringing for joy, and bonfires in some parishes." The Commons published their nine reasons against the bishops' votes, and Hall replied. His answer has already been summarised (page 333).

The narrative of what followed is told thus in the Bishop's account of himself, to which for this period of his life we are mainly indebted.

"We now, instead of looking after our wonted honour, must bend our thoughts upon the guarding of our lives, which were, with no small eagerness, pursued by the violent agents of the faction. Their sharpest wits and greatest lawyers were employed to advance our impeachment to the height; but the more they looked into the business the less crime could they find to fasten upon us, insomuch as one of their oracles, being demanded his judgment concerning the fact, professed to them they might with as good reason accuse us of adultery. Yet, still, there we are fast; only, upon petition to the Lords, obtaining this favour, that

we might have counsel assigned us ; which, after much reluctance and many menaces from the Commons against any man of all the Commoners of England that should dare to be seen to plead in this case against the representative body of the Commons, was granted us. The Lords assigned us five very worthy lawyers, which were nominated to them by us. What trouble and charge it was to procure those eminent and much employed counsellors to come to the Tower to us, and to observe the strict laws of the place for the time of their ingress, egress, and stay, it is not hard to judge. After we had lain some weeks there, however, the House of Commons, upon the first tender of our impeachment, had desired we might be brought to a speedy trial, yet now, finding belike how little ground they had for so high an accusation, they began to slack their pace, and suffered us rather to languish under the fear of so dreadful arraignment, insomuch as now we are fain to petition the Lords that we might be brought to trial. The day was set ; several summons were sent unto us ; the lieutenant had his warrant to bring us to the Bar ; our impeachment was severally read ; we pleaded ‘ Not guilty,’ *modo et forma*, and desired speedy proceedings, which were accordingly promised, but not too hastily performed. After long expectation another day was appointed for the prosecution of this high charge. The lieutenant brought us again to the Bar ; but with what shoutings and acclamations, and furious expressions of the enraged multitude, it is not easy to apprehend. Being thither brought and severally charged upon our knees, and having given our negative answer to every particular, two bishops, London and Winchester, were called in as witnesses against us, as in that point, whether they apprehended any such cause of fears in the tumults assembled, as that we were in danger of our lives in coming to the parliament ; who seemed to incline to a favourable report of the perils threatened ; though one of them was convinced out of his own mouth, from the relations himself had made at the Archbishop

of York's lodging. After this Wild and Glyn made fearful declarations at the Bar against us, aggravating all the circumstances of our pretended treason to the highest pitch. Our counsel were all ready at the Bar to plead for us in answer of their clamorous and envious suggestions; but it was answered that it was now too late, we should have another day, which day to this day never came. The circumstances of that day's hearing were more grievous to us than the substance; for we were all thronged so miserably in that strait room before the Bar, by reason that the whole House of Commons would be there to see the prizes of their champions played, that we stood the whole afternoon in no small torture, sweating and struggling with a merciless multitude, till, being dismissed, we were exposed to a new and greater danger. For now, in the dark, we must to the Tower by barge as we came, and must shoot the bridge with no small peril. That God, under whose merciful protection we are, returned us to our safe custody. There now we lay some weeks longer, expecting the summons for our counsels' answer; but instead thereof our merciful adversaries, well finding how sure they would be foiled in that unjust charge of treason, now, under pretences of remitting the height of rigour, wave their former impeachment of treason against us, and fall upon an accusation of high misdemeanours in that our protestation, and will have us prosecuted as guilty of a *premunire*; although, as we conceive, the law hath ever been in parliamentary proceedings, that, if a man were impeached as of treason, being the highest crime, the accusation must hold him to the proof of the charge, and may not fall to any meaner impeachment upon failing of the higher. But in this case of ours it fell out otherwise; for, although the Lords had openly promised us that nothing should be done against us till we and our counsel were heard in our defence, yet the next news we heard was, the House of Commons had drawn up a bill against us, wherein they declared us to be delinquents of a very high nature, and

had thereupon desired to have it enacted that all our spiritual means should be taken away; only there should be a yearly allowance to every bishop for his maintenance, according to a proportion by them set down, wherein they were pleased that my share should come to £400 per annum. This bill was sent up to the Lords, and by them also passed, and there hath ever since lain. This being done, after some weeks more, finding the Tower, besides the restraint, chargeable, we petitioned the Lords that we might be admitted to bail, and have liberty to return to our homes. The Earl of Essex moved, the Lords assented, took our bail, sent to the lieutenant of the Tower for our discharge. How glad we were to fly out of our cage! No sooner was I got to my lodging than I thought to take a little fresh air in St. James' Park; and in my return to my lodging in the Dean's Yard, passing through Westminster Hall, was saluted by divers of my parliament acquaintance, and welcomed to my liberty. Whereupon some that looked upon me with an evil eye ran into the House and complained that the bishops were let loose, which it seems was not well taken by the House of Commons, who presently sent a kind of expostulation to the Lords that they had dismissed so heinous offenders without their knowledge and consent. Scarce had I rested me in my lodging when there comes a messenger to me with the sad news of sending me and the rest of my brethren the bishops back to the Tower again; from whence we came, thither we must go, and thither I went with a heavy but, I thank God, not impatient heart." (They were liberated February 16th, and sent in again February 17th.) "After we had continued there some six weeks longer, and earnestly petitioned to return to our several charges, we were upon £5,000 bond dismissed, with a clause of revocation at a short warning, if occasion should require."

While in the Tower, towards the end of January, Hall addressed a letter in vindication of himself to

a friend who had previously corresponded with him. It was not intended for publication, but to be used in repelling attacks made upon the Bishop in social intercourse. It bears the evident marks of sincerity, and though necessarily for the most part dealing only with points through which he was brought into conflict with Puritanism, is a valuable contribution in the elucidation of his aims and opinions.

“WORTHY SIR,—You think it strange that I should salute you from hence. How can you choose, when I still yet wonder to see myself here? My intentions and this place are such strangers that I cannot enough marvel how they met.

“But, however, I do in all humility kiss the rod wherewith I smart, as well knowing Whose hand it is that wields it. To that Infinite Justice who can be innocent? but to my king and country never heart was or can be more clear; and I shall beshrew my hand if it shall have against my thoughts justly offended either. And if either say so, I reply not, as having learned not to contest with those that can command legions.

“In the meantime, it is a kind but cold compliment that you pity me; an affection well placed where a man deserves to be miserable; for me, I am not conscious of such merit. You tell me on what fair terms I stood, not long since, with the world; how large room I had in the hearts of the best men; but can you tell me how I lost it? Truly, I have, in the presence of my God, narrowly searched my own bosom. I have impartially ransacked this fag-end of my life, and curiously examined every step of my ways; and I cannot, by the most exact scrutiny of my saddest thoughts, find what it is that I have done to forfeit that good estimation wherewith you say I was once blessed.

“I can secretly arraign and condemn myself of infinite transgressions before the tribunal of heaven. Who, that

dwells in a house of clay, can be pure in His sight that charged His angels with folly? O God, when I look upon the reckonings betwixt Thee and my soul, and find my shameful arrears, I can be most vile in my own sight, because I have deserved to be so in Thine; yet, even then, in Thy most pure eyes, give me leave, the while, not to abdicate my sincerity. Thou knowest my heart desires to be right with Thee, whatever my failings may have been, and I know what value Thou puttest upon those sincere desires, notwithstanding all the intermixtures of our miserable infirmities. These I can penitently bewail to Thee; but, in the meantime, what have I done to men? Let them not spare to shame me with the late shameful declinations of my age, and fetch blushes, if they can, from a wrinkled face. Let mine enemies (for such I perceive I have, and those are the surest monitors) say what I have offended. For their better irritation, my clear conscience bids me boldly take up the challenge of good Samuel, *'Behold, here I am! Witness against me before the Lord, and before His Anointed: Whose ox have I taken? or whose ass have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? or of whose hand have I received any bribe, to blind mine eyes therewith? and I will restore it you.'*

"Can they say that I bore up the reins of government too hard, and exercised my jurisdiction in a rigorous and tyrannical way, insolently lording it over my charge? Malice itself, perhaps, would, but dare not speak it; or, if it should, the attestation of so grave and numerous a clergy would choke such impudence. Let them witness whether they were not still entertained by me with an equal return of reverence, as if they had been all bishops with me, or I only a presbyter with them; according to the old rule of Egbert, Archbishop of York, *Intra domum episcopus collegam se presbyterorum esse cognoscat!* Let them say whether ought here looked like despotical, or sounded rather of imperious commands, than of brotherly complying; whether I have not rather, from some beholders,

undergone the censure of a too humble remissness, as, perhaps, stooping too low beneath the eminence of episcopal dignity; whether I have not suffered as much in some opinions for the winning mildness of my administration, as some others for a rough severity.

"Can they say, for this aspersion is likewise common, that I barred the free course of religious exercises by the suppression of painful and peaceable preachers? If shame will suffer any man to object it, let me challenge him to instance but in one name. Nay, the contrary is so famously known in the western parts that every mouth will herein justify me. What free admission and encouragement have I always given to all the sons of peace that came with God's message in their mouths! What missuggestions have I waved, what blows have I borne off, in the behalf of some of them, from some gainsayers! How have I often and publicly professed that, as well might we complain of too many stars in the sky, as too many orthodox preachers in the Church.

"Can they complain that I fretted the necks of my clergy with the uneasy yoke of new and illegal impositions? Let them, whom I have thus hurt, blazon my unjust severity, and write their wrongs in marble. But if, disliking all novel devices, I have held close to those ancient rules which limited the audience of our godly predecessors; if I have grated upon no man's conscience by the pressure, no not by the tender, of the late oath, or any unprescribed ceremony; if I have freely, in the committee appointed by the most honourable House of Peers, declared my open dislike in all innovations, both in doctrine and rites—why doth my innocence suffer?

"Can they challenge me as a close and back-stair-friend to popery or Arminianism who have in so many pulpits and so many presses cried down both? Surely, the very paper that I have spent in the refutation of both these is enough to stop more mouths than can be guilty of this calumny.

"Can they check me with a lazy silence in my place?

with infrequency of preaching? Let the populous auditories where I have lived witness whether, having furnished all the churches near me with able preachers, I took not all opportunities of supplying such courses, as I could get, in my cathedral; and, when my tongue was silent, let the world say whether my hands were idle.

"Lastly, since no man can offer to upbraid me with too much pomp, which is wont to be the common eyesore of our envied profession, can any man pretend to a ground of taxing me, as I perceive one of late hath most unjustly done, of too much worldliness? Surely, of all the vices forbidden in the Decalogue there is no one which my heart, upon due consideration, can less fasten upon me than this. He that made it knows that He hath put into it a true disregard (save only for necessary use) of the world, and of all that it can boast of, whether for profit, pleasure, or glory. No, no; I know the world too well to dote upon it. While I am in it, how can I but use it? but I never care, never yield to enjoy it. It were too great a shame for a philosopher, a Christian, a divine, a bishop, to have his thoughts grovelling here upon earth. For mine they scorn the employment, and look upon all these sublunary distractions as upon this man's false censure, with no other eyes than contempt.

"And now, sir, since I cannot, how secretly faulty soever, guess at my own public exorbitances, I beseech you, when you hear my name traduced, learn of mine accusers, whose lyncean eyes would seem to see farther into me than mine own, what singular offence I have committed.

"If, perhaps, my calling be my crime, it is no other than the most holy Fathers of the Church in the primitive and succeeding ages ever since the apostles, many of them also blessed martyrs, have been guilty of. It is no other than all the holy doctors of the Church in all generations ever since have celebrated. It is no other than all the whole Christian world, excepting one small handful of our neighbours, whose condition denied them the opportunity

of this government, is known to enjoy, without contradiction. How safe is it erring in such company !

“ If my offence be in my pen, which hath, as it could, undertaken the defence of that apostolical institution, though with all modesty and fair respects to the Churches differing from us, I cannot deprecate a truth ; and such I know this to be, which is since so cleared by better hands, that I well hope the better informed world cannot but sit down convinced. Neither doubt I but that, as metals receive the more lustre with often rubbing, this truth, the more agitation it undergoes, shall appear every day more glorious. Only may the good Spirit of the Almighty speedily dispel all those dusky prejudices from the minds of men which may hinder them from discerning so clear a truth !

“ Shortly, then, knowing nothing by myself whereby I have deserved to alienate any good heart from me, I shall resolve to rest securely upon the acquitting testimony of a good conscience, and the secret approbation of my gracious God, Who shall one day cause mine innocence to break forth as the morning light, and shall give me beauty for bonds, and for a light momentary affliction an eternal weight of glory.

“ To shut up all, and to surcease your trouble, I write not this as one that would pump for favour and reputation from the disaffected multitude (for I charge you that what passes privately betwixt us may not fall under common eyes), but only with this desire and intention to give you true grounds, where you shall hear my name mentioned with a causeless offence, to yield me a just and charitable vindication. Go you on still to do the office of a true friend, yea, the duty of a just man, in speaking in the cause of the dumb, in righting the innocent, in rectifying the misguided, and, lastly, the service of a faithful and Christian patriot, in helping the times with the best aid of your prayers, which is daily the task of

“ Your much devoted and thankful friend,

“ JOS. NORVIC.”

Though the bishops were in confinement, they were not prevented from preaching by turns every Lord's day to a large auditory of citizens. Hall's turn fell on March 20th, when, "as fit for both the time and the season, both of them sad and penitential, and such as to call us to devotion and humiliation," he chose for his text James iv. 8. The tract called "The Free Prisoner" was also written by him while in the Tower. What part he took in Robert Hall's attack upon Milton at this time has already been discussed.

A few days after his release he went to Norwich, where he was received with more respect than in such times he could have expected, and the very day after his arrival initiated his care of his flock by preaching to a numerous and attentive people.

The diocese at the head of which Hall was now placed had been amongst those most noted for Puritanism. Wren, who held the see from 1635 to 1638, was an uncompromising absolutist, and a rigorous disciplinarian, as was evidenced by the nine hundred inquiries of his articles and the deprivation or suspension of no less than fifty ministers in the space of two years and a half. He subsequently became a special object of hatred to the Puritans, was "anatomized, dissected, and layd open" in pamphlets, and after being threatened with impeachment and spending nearly twenty years in prison, lived to aid with his valuable suggestions those divines who at the Restoration were engaged in the revision of the Prayer Book. Montagu, who in 1638 succeeded him at Norwich, was at the time in failing health, and little able to direct the affairs of a diocese which needed all the

strength and wisdom that could be brought to bear upon it. Perhaps no bishop in England was better calculated to be successful, had success been possible, than was Hall; but the time for compromise was passed. At the end of August Charles unfurled his standard at Nottingham, and the country was at once plunged into the horrors of civil war. There were some secret murmurs of disaffection to the Bishop at Norwich, but he enjoyed peace until in the latter end of March 1643 the ordinance of sequestration was passed by the Parliament, and then when he was hoping to receive the income of the foregoing half year, he found that all his rents were stopped and divested. The first intimation of coming trouble was one morning before the servants were up, when there came to the gates of the palace one Wright, a London trooper, attended with others, requiring entrance, and threatening, if not admitted, to break open the gates. When the Bishop first caught sight of him he was struggling with one of the servants for a pistol which he had in his hand. Asked his business at that unreasonable time, he replied that he came to search for arms and ammunition. The Bishop told him there were only two muskets in the house, and no other military provision; but not satisfied with this he looked into the chests and trunks, and examined the vessels in the cellar. Finding no other warlike furniture, he asked what horses there were; his commission was to take them also. And hearing that the Bishop's age would not allow of travelling on foot, he consented to take one only for the present. Another the Bishop wisely disposed of, and for so doing was afterwards bound to listen to an expostulation from

his tormentor. In April following the sequestrators came to the palace, and made known their intention of seizing the palace and all the estate the Bishop had, both real and personal. An inventory was subsequently taken, and not so much as a dozen of trenchers or the children's pictures were omitted. Even wearing clothes would have been included, had not Alderman Tooley and Sheriff Rawley, at Hall's request, given their opinion to the contrary. The goods, both library and household stuff, being to be sold by public auction, there was much inquiry as to the time of sale ; but, in the meantime, a pious gentlewoman, Mrs. Goodwin, although unknown to Hall and his family even by sight, offered to purchase the goods at a valuation. This she did ; and having had them formally delivered to her by the sequestrators, left them in the hands of their original possessors. As for the books, several stationers looked at them, but were not forward to purchase ; eventually a Mr. Cook gave his bond to the sequestrators for the amount they were valued at, and the Bishop afterwards paid his friend out of the pittance allowed him for maintenance. As yet no provision had been made for the support of the Bishop and his family. A committee, however, was sitting at Norwich, and application having been made, it seemed to the assessors that £400 a year, the sum assigned to Hall by parliament, was not unreasonable, and this sum, on receiving an approving letter from the Earl of Manchester, they determined to set apart. A quarter's rent had not been received when an order from the committee for sequestrations, under the hand of Serjeant Wild, the chairman, procured by

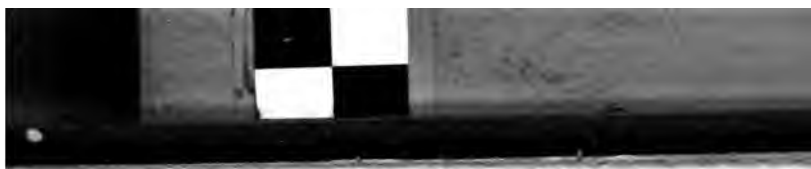
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February 2nd, 1644. It was generally swallowed by both clergy and laity, and once more the Bishop found himself in difficulties. He had been going on in his wonted course, exercising his power of ordination. Now certain forward volunteers of Norwich banded themselves together, and stirred up the mayor and his subordinates to call him to account for violating the covenant. We have already been following, with sometimes a trifling addition or curtailment, Hall's own account of his troubles; the remainder is so forcible that it would be wrong to alter a single word.

"To this purpose" (of calling him to account for violating the covenant) "divers of them came to my gates at a very unreasonable time; and, knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the Bishop. Messages were sent to them to know their business; nothing would satisfy them but the Bishop's presence. At last I came down to them, and demanded what the matter was; they would have the gate opened, and then they would tell me. I answered that I would know them better first; if they had anything to say to me I was ready to hear them. They told me they had a writing to me from Mr. Mayor and some other of their magistrates. The paper contained both a challenge of me for breaking the covenant in ordaining ministers, and, withal, required me to give in the names of those which were ordained by me both then and formerly since the covenant. My answer was that Mr. Mayor was much abused by those who had misinformed him, and drawn that paper from him; that I would next day give a full answer to the writing. They moved that my answer might be by my personal appearance at the Guildhall. I asked them when they ever heard of a Bishop of Norwich appearing before a mayor. I knew mine own place; and would take that way of answer which I thought fit; and so dismissed them, who

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reforming the cathedral church bordering upon my palace. It is no other than tragical to relate the carriage of that furious sacrilege, whereof our eyes and ears were the sad witnesses, under the authority and presence of Linsey, Toftes, the Sheriff, and Greenwood. Lord, what work was here! What clattering of glasses! What beating down of walls! What tearing up of monuments! What pulling down of seats! What wresting out of irons and brass from the windows and graves! What defacing of arms! What demolishing of curious stone-work, that had not any representation in the world, but only of the cost of the founder, and skill of the mason! What tooting and piping upon the destroyed organ pipes! And what a hideous triumph on the market-day before all the country, when in a kind of sacrilegious and profane procession all the organ pipes, vestments, both copes and surplices, together with the leaden cross which had been newly sawn down from over the Green-Yard pulpit, and the service books and singing books that could be had, were carried to the fire in the public market-place; a lewd wretch walking before the train, in his cope trailing in the dirt, with a service book in his hand, imitating in an impious scorn the tune, and usurping the words of the litany used formerly in the Church. Near the public cross all these monuments of idolatry must be sacrificed to the fire; not without much ostentation of a zealous joy, in discharging ordinance, to the cost of some who professed how much they had longed to see that day. Neither was it any news upon this Guild-day to have the cathedral, now open on all sides, to be filled with musketeers, waiting for the mayor's return, drinking and tobaccoconing as freely as if it had turned alehouse."

The Bishop and his family still remained in the palace, though with but a poor retinue and slender means; but the relentless Mr. Corbet was bent upon getting him from there. The committee, seeing that

they were now paying for a house in which to hold their meetings, looked with much favour on the palace as a place more public and roomy, and rent free. Mrs. Hall was willing to pay out of her fifth part the rent of the house occupied by the committee: but nothing would avail. After peremptory messages, without even allowing time to provide another home, the cruel persecutors gave three weeks' notice to quit by Midsummer day then approaching: "so as we might have lain in the street for ought I know, had not the providence of God so ordered it that a neighbour in the Close one Mr. Goslin, a widower, was content to void his house for us."

The sufferer was not so overcome by his own troubles that he could not see and strive to avert the dangers with which the Church was threatened. The Westminster Assembly, after swallowing the covenant, appear to have been comparatively inactive for some time, but at length roused to action by the petition to Parliament of the London ministers in September 1644, they put forth a scheme of ordination, and next month, under pressure from Scotland, agreed to adopt a Directory for Public Worship, which was in effect that of Calvin and Travers. Hall had heard that the divines were busy, or were supposed to be, on a form of Church government. Early in the month of September he, therefore, addressed to the prolocutor and to the rest of the divines met at Westminster his "Modest Offer of some Meets Considerations" on the points under debate. After slyly glancing at the usual prayer of many preachers well affected to the assembly that God would now after 1600 year

universal practice of the whole Church of Christ upon earth show the assembled divines the *Pattern in the Mount*, he proceeds to argue that there could be but three forms of Church government possibly devised—either by bishops, or by presbyteries, or by a multitude of several congregations. The first had all times and places since the days of the apostles to stand for it; the second found a precedent in the Reformed Church of France (which never desired nor meant to make their necessitated form a pattern for others) the Netherlands, and Scotland; the third was vehemently contended for by the independents. Now, the National Covenant, as interpreted by some among themselves, did not intend to abjure and disclaim episcopacy as such, but only certain appendages thereof, some of them, he conceded, not necessary. He would not take upon him to justify or approve of all episcopal conduct, but what he offered to their serious consideration was this—whether episcopacy stripped of all circumstances that might be justly excepted against and reduced to the primitive estate, might not be thought a form both better in itself and more fit for the kingdom and Church than either of the other? Its antiquity and universality from the very apostolic times until the present age were arguments against the safety and propriety of exchanging such an institution for another, where there was no necessity; and it was well worthy of consideration that episcopacy had been so long settled in this country, that it was inwoven into the municipal laws of the land, and could not be utterly removed without much alteration in the whole body of the laws. Above these considerations, however, was its *intrinsic*

worth ; it certainly realised the ideal government of the covenant in being according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Churches—the primitive. A difference, he granted, there was between the episcopacy of those first ages and that of the present times, but not in anything *essential to the calling*. All this considered, why should not it rather take place than a government lately and occasionally raised up in the Church, for the necessity or convenience of some special places and persons, without any intention of an universal rule and prescription ?

If reformation were required, the most perfect reformation of which the Church on earth was capable, might consist with episcopacy. How could it be conceived that the careful inspection of one constant, prudent, and vigilant overseer, superadded to a grave and judicious presbytery, should be any hindrance to the progress of godliness, especially when under the restraint of good laws ? He went on to show that much might be effected with very little or no alteration of the form of government. Our ecclesiastical system supplied, in fact, all that was valued as most valuable in Presbyterianism. Instead of pastor, elders, and deacons, we had the minister, whether a rector or vicar, churchwardens, questmen, sidesmen, and overseers for the poor ; also in places of any eminence a curate, who was a deacon at least ; instead of presbyteries we had our rural deaneries, archidiaconal meetings, diocesan, provincial, or, if necessary, national synods. There was abundant machinery here for the regulation of the Church. As for ordination, the presence and assistance of those who by their original institution

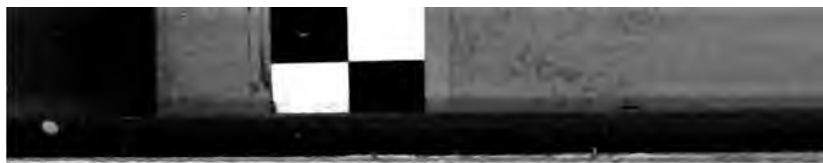


are the presbytery of the bishop, and the joint imposition of those hands which attested the sufficiency of the candidates, had been enjoined by the former constitutions of our Church. Ample care, too, was taken in ascertaining the character and qualifications of those intended for the ministry. It was much insisted on that it was meet the people should have some hand in choosing their pastor. This, too, was provided for. The people had devolved their right upon the patron, who was their trustee. A fair respect to the wishes of congregations was desirable; but if, through faction, or self-will, or partiality, the multitude should prove peevish and fastidious, they might be overruled by just authority. In the matter of censures there had been great abuse; suspensions and excommunications far too common. The wisdom of the present Parliament would perhaps settle some other way for curbing contumacious offences against Church authority. In the meantime the bishop should not inflict either this or any other censure without the concurrence of his presbytery. A lay presbytery he unequivocally condemns. In conclusion, he adds that the less disunion there is, the more ground of safety, and that where the holy purposes of reformation may be effected with the least change, there must needs be the most hope of accordance.

A somewhat full analysis of this important tract has been given that the reader may judge for himself with what truth it has been said (Baird Lecture for 1882, p. 114) that Hall adopted a "lower platform than he assumed in the Smectymnuan controversy." It seems to me to exhibit a statesmanlike power of concession, coupled with the truest con-

servatism, and an able advocacy of unpopular institutions, before biassed or at least timid judges.

His pen had been busy, too, in other directions. Just as in the Tower he gained spiritual refreshment by writing "The Free Prisoner," so in the spring of 1643 he published his little work "The Devout Soul," and in 1645, at the age of seventy-one, and in the depth of his afflictions, "The Remedy of Discontentment." He meant to make himself his own patient by enjoining himself that course of remedies which he prescribed to others. Thus did the good man in those blustering times seek peace by learning and teaching to others quiet thoughts of sweet content.



CHAPTER XVIII.

HIGHAM.—CLOSING DAYS.—DEATH.

IN North Higham, a suburb of Norwich, there stands, or until quite recently did stand, an old flint and stone building, with deep bay windows and pointed gables. Before the house is an ornamental gateway of the early part of the seventeenth century. The house itself is of earlier date. Over the ornamented doorway are the figures 1587, and in the corners the initials R. B., together with a curious hieroglyphic, the mark of Richard Browne, a merchant whose residence it apparently was in the sixteenth century. Just within the door, inserted in the wall, is a *piscina*, perhaps brought from some demolished religious house or church, and projecting from the old stairway a wall-bench-end, said to be of the fourteenth century. On the right is a room with wood-panelled walls much ornamented, oak doors, and an elaborate plastered ceiling, all of the Jacobean period, light being furnished by one of the deep bay windows, which, no doubt, were thrown out in 1615, as indicated by the date upon them. To this house, now a public-house known as "The Dolphin," and situate in a low neighbourhood, it was that Hall and his family removed probably in the autumn of 1645, after having, as we have seen, been

compelled to accept a temporary shelter in the home of the kindly widower, Mr. Gostlin, in the Cathedral Close. The Bishop's will shows that he had the place upon lease for a term of years, which had not expired at the time of his death in 1656.

His tongue, he tells us, which was wont to be vocal enough, was now, for a time at least, possessed of silence. There were some external reasons for this, but it was chiefly his care and zeal for peace that stopped his mouth, and made him refrain even from good words. The same motive that imposed silence on his tongue urged his hand to write. Looking back he could call God to witness how sincerely ever since he entered upon the public service of the Church, "according to his known signature with Noah's dove," he had laboured to bring an olive branch to the tossed ark of the Church; his wings may have been too short and the wind too high for him to carry it home, but he could content himself with consciousness of faithful duty. Now once more he took his pen in hand for the same good cause, and the result was "The Peacemaker." This little treatise deals with such topics as the relative importance of truths, what differences of judgment make a different religion, the fundamental points of religion, the injurious uncharitableness of the Romish Church, the undue alienation of the Lutheran Churches from the other Reformed, the differences betwixt the other Reformed Churches and our own, the differences within our own Churches at home. It then goes on to speak of the ways of peace in relation to private persons and to the public, and concludes with a motive to peace from the miseries of discord. It exhibits—it

is at this stage of our work almost needless to say—an unbounded charity, and yet that same severity which at an earlier date led him to express approval of Calvin in putting Servetus to death, though, perhaps, even here the influence of love is apparent. “What person soever, then, after his due matriculation into God’s Church, professeth to be built upon Christ the true Corner-stone, to receive and embrace the whole truth of God delivered in the sacred monuments of the prophets and apostles, to believe all the articles of the Christian faith, to yield himself to the guidance of that Royal Law, to call upon the only true God in and through Christ, to communicate in the same Holy Sacraments instituted by the Law of Life, cannot *but be acknowledged a true Christian, and worthy of our free and entire communion.*” He boldly says that all Reformed Churches, while maintaining episcopacy not to be necessary for the *esse* of a Church, agreed as to its much importing the *bene esse*. So much for his charity. He was, however, far from giving way to every combination of Christians to run aside and raise up a new Church of their own; this were to build up Babel instead of Jerusalem, and a generation of misshapen opinions was to be expected, “begot betwixt evil spirits and mad phantasies, if every fanatical brain may be suffered to propagate its own whimsies and prodigious imaginations.” Heresy is a grievous sin, both against God and the Church. Here, as elsewhere, he distinguished between heresy and *hæreticalis blasphemia*; the former, as a spiritual sin, was to be proceeded against in a spiritual way, since faith was to be persuaded, not forced; for the latter, it was attended with schism, perturbances, seditions,

malicious practices, and, therefore, was worthy of a faggot.*

In the treatise which we have just been examining there is much which bears upon the regulation of the inner life; but it is to his more purely devotional works that we must turn to form a fair opinion of the steady and consistent walk in holiness of the Bishop himself, and to discover the remedies he suggested for troubled and distracted souls in those times of anguish and distress. The very titles of his writings seem to soothe and invite to repose. "The Balm of Gilead, or the Comforter," is a repertory of consolation for the sick bed; for the sick soul in temptations, weakness of grace, in times of infamy and reproach, amid public calamities, under loss of friends, in poverty, imprisonment, or banishment, for the loss of our senses of sight and hearing, want of children, sleeplessness, old age, death and judgment, the fear of our spiritual enemies,—in a word, for well-nigh every ill. "The Blessed Union of Christ and His Members," "Satan's Fiery Darts Quenched," "Select Thoughts, or Choice Helps for a Pious Spirit," "A Century of Divine Breathings for a ravished soul beholding the excellences of the Lord Jesus," are some of the fruits of his mature experience, which come to us commended by the knowledge that he who instructs

* As indicating the impression produced at the time of publication by this treatise and the "Pax Terris," the following remarks of an eminent contemporary are not without interest:—"Pareus, Junius, and many more have done their parts (*i.e.*, in writing *Irenicons*) as our Davenant, Morton, Hall, whose excellent treatise called 'The Peacemaker,' and his 'Pax Terris,' deserve to be inscribed upon all our hearts" (Baxter's "Reformed Pastor," pub. 1656, ed. 1829, p. 186).

has had to learn hard lessons in the school of suffering.

At this time (*circa* 1647) he certainly did not plume himself upon his reputation as a controversialist. More than once we have found him dwelling upon the enjoyment he derived from meditation, and expressing his comparative dislike for polemics. In the address to "The Select Thoughts" he tells his readers that he had found the employment of meditation so useful and proper, that he had looked upon those polemical discourses which had been forced from him as no better "than mere excursions. I wis it will be long enough ere we shall wrangle ourselves into heaven." He would not, therefore, rashly spend his few remaining years in the battlefield; but, partly no doubt from the ruling habit, partly from the attacks of unforgiving and never-forgetting enemies, partly from the kindly interest of friends anxious to vindicate his character, he found himself, even while at Higham, to some extent in the din of theological strife. In 1650 he was busy writing "The Revelation Unrevealed," and combating the opinions of the new Chiliasts; in 1651, in response to Fuller, he penned his letter vindicating his conduct at Dort, which has already been quoted; and again, in the autumn of 1654, stung by the pamphlet in which he was ranked with "priests and Jesuits, and the man that was executed the other day," he felt bound to clear himself once more from the gross misconstruction in connection with the visibility question, from which he vainly hoped he had cleared himself eight-and-twenty years before.

The literary fecundity of the Bishop was not

more remarkable than the variety of his literary efforts. In the spring of 1650 he appeared in the new character of a casuist. It is pretty clear that he had for some time been on intimate terms with the writings of the leading casuists. At length his studies took form in the publication of a work in four decades on "Divers Practical Cases of Conscience in Continual Use amongst Men." Of all divinity he thought that part most useful which determined such cases. In the resolution of the difficulties he consulted those who had written before him, sometimes to follow them, sometimes to "leave them for a better guide." Nothing could be more modest than the way in which the venerable divine said it was far from his thoughts to obtrude his resolutions and decisions as peremptory and magisterial; he only tendered them submissively as probable advices to the simpler sort of Christians, and as matter of grave censure to the learned. Their success was striking; a second edition was called for in the next year, and a third four years afterwards. The author was urged by some judicious friends to go on with the subject, and to make up a complete Body of Case-Divinity, both practical, speculative, and mixed, which was badly wanted in our language. But, although there was a precedent in Azpilcueta, who at ninety years finished the fourth edition of his Manual, he shrank at his age from so long and difficult a work. Still he purposed to consider such questions as might from time to time arise, and to leave the answers he found to them. In the meantime he urged younger men to undertake the task, and expressed a hope that Dr. Ralph Cudworth's book, finished

many years since, and intended for the press, but yet sleeping in some private hands, would one day see the light.

Interesting as is this new phase of mental activity, the general reader will perhaps be more attracted by some glimpses, afforded in the Bishop's correspondence, of the pursuits of the eminent victims of Puritan tyranny, and of the sympathetic intercourse which knit them together. With two, Usher and Hammond, Hall was, during his residence at Higham, upon terms of intimate friendship. Usher, after the breaking up of his Irish home through the rebellion in 1641, had lived in England, enjoying the friendship of the Countess of Peterborough, and for eight years being the preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. With Hammond, Hall had a peculiar bond of sympathy; he was godson, and bore the name, of the same Prince Henry to whose patronage Hall in great measure owed his early advancement. Compelled in 1643 to quit his living of Penshurst, he had gone to live in seclusion at Oxford, but was there made Canon of Christ Church, University Orator, and Chaplain to Charles I. At the close of 1647, being forbidden any longer to attend his royal master, he returned to Oxford, and soon after was deprived of his office of sub-dean of Christ Church. After the king's execution he went to live at Westwood, in Worcestershire. Both these illustrious men, while in retirement, were doing good service to their Church and country. In 1650-54 appeared Usher's "*Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*," while Hammond's most important work, "*The Paraphrases and Annotations on the New Testament*," came out in 1653. Usher, at an

earlier date, after being taken to task by Milton, had been busily engaged in vindicating the authority of Ignatius, and in 1647 Hall wrote, *æ tuguriolo nostro Highamensi*, a Latin letter congratulating him on his labour. Again, in February of the following year, having received from Usher through the Bishop of Durham letters and a present of books, he wrote a letter of thanks, and begged his friend's acceptance of one of his own recent publications. Then came more books from Usher, together with a graceful acknowledgment of the encouragement given him by Hall, and, on the completion of the "Annals of the Old Testament" in 1650, a copy of that work, as also four years after a copy of the "Companion Annals of the New Testament." Both of these were read by Hall with much eagerness and delight. With Hammond, too, who also had sent him gifts of books, he was in correspondence in 1651 (July 1st; *ipso die ac fere horæ momento quo annum ætatis septuagesimum octavum σὺν Θεῷ ingredior*, he says), and once more, in 1654, with Usher. He had been diligently searching the "Annales Novi Testamenti" for some account of Simon Magus and Apollonius Tyanæus, but failing to find it, he was anxious to know whether in Usher's opinion the chronology of Simon Magus would agree with St. Paul's prediction in 2 Thessalonians of the son of perdition, as was maintained by Hammond. For himself, if the times would accord, he thought there was some probability in placing antichrist not so far from the apostolic age as had been commonly reputed.

Thus in friendly and scholarly intercourse did these great champions of the faith beguile the weary hours of darkness, and wait for the breaking of the day.

The aged man must have valued such friendship in his declining years most highly. He had lived to see most of the friends of his early days pass away, and death had already more than once snatched away members of his own family. A daughter, Mary, had been laid to rest in Exeter cathedral before he left the west ; four years had not elapsed before the death of his youngest son, on Christmas Eve 1642, revived the old sorrow. He was only twenty-three, and is buried in Norwich cathedral. In February 1650 died John, and was buried the same day at Higham. Within eighteen months he lost his daughter Elizabeth, wife of the Dean of Exeter ; and the circle of a year was scarce complete, when on August 27th, 1652, his dear and virtuous consort (to use the words of the inscription to her memory), after a union of forty-eight years, changed this mortal life for an eternal. He had been no niggard of good counsel to others, now he needed it himself ; he had taught lessons of patience to many ; how would he himself bear this crowning sorrow of his life ? He was suffering from both pain of body and grief of mind. He tells us that he struggled with them both, and succeeded, by God's mercy, in attaining to a meek and humble submission and a quiet composedness of thoughts. Yet he thought himself wanting in that comfort and spiritual elevation which some holy souls have professed to feel in their lowest depression, having an inward consolation which more than counterpoised their heaviest crosses. This cheerful temper he set himself to seek, that even while he wept he might yet smile upon the face of his heavenly Father, Whose stripes he so tenderly suffered. Such is his touching

account of the origin of his tract "Songs in the Night, or Cheerfulness under Affliction," the embodiment of his thoughts and feelings on this sorrowful occasion. Towards the close of it he says :—"O God, bless Thou mine eye with this sight of a blessed eternity, I shall not forbear to sing in the night of death itself ; much less in the twilight of all these worldly afflictions. Come, then, all ye earthly crosses, and muster up all your forces against me. Here is that which is able to make me more than a conqueror over you all. Have I lost my goods, and foregone a fair estate ? Had all the earth been mine, what is it to heaven ? Had I been the lord of all the world, what were this to a kingdom of glory ? Have I parted with a dear consort, the sweet companion of my youth, the tender nurse of my age, the partner of my sorrows for these forty-eight years ? She is but stept a little before me to that happy rest, which I am panting towards, and wherein I shall speedily overtake her. In the meantime, and ever, my soul is espoused to that glorious and immortal Husband, from Whom it shall never be parted. Am I bereaved of some of my dear children, the sweet pledges of our matrimonial love whose parts and hopes promised me comfort in my declined age ? Why am I not rather thankful if hath pleased my God out of my loins to furnish heaven with some happy guests ? Why do I not instead of mourning for their loss, sing praises to God, for preferring them to that eternal blessedness. Am I afflicted with bodily pain and sickness which banisheth all sleep from my eyes, and exercises me with a lingering torture ? Ere long, this momentary distemper shall end in an everlasting rest."

Turning his thoughts ever more and more towards that everlasting rest, he had composed "The Great Mystery of Godliness," and "The Invisible World, discovered to spiritual eyes and reduced to useful Meditations." These he intended to be his two final meditations, and commending them to all good Christian people as his last words before setting out on his last journey, in a letter full of pathetic lament over the evils of the time, he announced his intention of "closing up the mouth of the press." This steadfast purpose was not steadfastly adhered to. The sight of the sad condition of the Church wrung from him "The Holy Order of Mourners in Sion," in which he makes suggestions for the formation and regulation of a society whose peculiarity should be prayer for the redress of calamities then pressing, and for the prevention of threatening woes. The aim of the society was to be purely spiritual ; its members, binding themselves by secret and silent vows, were to have no formality or ceremony of admission, no distinguishing colours, devices, or habiliments ; they would be easily known by their sad faces, wet eyes, deep sighs, mortified carriage, neglect of vanities whereby others were transported, their holy retiredness, assiduous devotions, and strict professions of godliness. The devotions were to be private, without any offensive assemblings likely to provoke suspicion, but one day a week was to be set apart for fasting and prayer, wonted pleasure was to be abridged, and gatherings of mirth and jollity to be forsaken, while the hand of God lay thus heavily upon the Church and nation. All who thus bound themselves were to do their best to influence others in public and private, and stimulate.

them to join in promoting the objects of the order. The pages in which the good Bishop had sketched the outline of this distinctively Praying Order, and forcibly illustrated his strong belief in prayer as a remedy for all maladies, were given to the world through the medium of a friend, Mr. G. H. Through the agency of the same "friend," who, having had the manuscript sent to him, told the author that men still found in him the same vivacity and fluency as ever, rallied him on the hasty farewell he had taken of the world and the press, and confessed an intention of anticipating the Bishop's leave to make him better than his word, "*Songs in the Night*" was also published.

It is true that mentally Hall, though he lived long enough, was never twice a child; his intellectual fire and energy were bright and strong to the last. But the torments of strangury and the increasing burden of years told him that he was approaching the end of life. Bearing in mind the customary state of his health, after much thought he made his last will, which bears date July 21st, 1654, though finally amended April 28th, 1656. His soul he bequeathed into the hands of his faithful Creator and Redeemer, not doubting but that He would receive it to mercy, and crown it with glory. His body he left to be interred without any funeral pomp, at the discretion of his executor, with one monition only—that he did not hold God's house a meet repository for the dead bodies of the greatest saints. At the time the will was made four sons, Robert, Joseph, George, and Samuel, and a daughter, Ann, married to Gascoigne Weld, Esq., were living out of his nine children, and these all

survived him. The youngest son, Samuel, the only son with issue, was appointed sole executor. To Dr. Peterson the Bishop gave "that curious flappe" which was given him by Mr. Rawlins and "one faire gilt bowle with a cover, for a remembrance of his deare affection" to him; to his grandchildren, Elizabeth and Mary, daughters of Samuel, £300 and £100 respectively; to his second son George, the golden medal which was given him by Mrs. Goodwin; and to Mr. George Bayfield, his neighbour and co-trustee of the will, one piece of plate, viz., a silver tankard. The Dort medal was bequeathed to the male issue of any one of his sons, if any such should be, according to the order of their birth, or in default thereof to Joseph Weld, the son of his daughter Ann. None of the sons had male issue; the medal, therefore, went to Joseph Weld, at this time a child three or four years old. To Ashby, his birthplace, and to Norwich he gave thirty pounds apiece for the benefit of poor widows.

For the disposition of the bulk of his property the curious reader is referred to extracts from the will printed in the appendix to this volume.

It was a comfort to him that he had lived to see three of his sons "learned, judicious, and painful divines." Of these the youngest, Samuel, had been collated sub-dean of Exeter September 22nd, 1641, at the age of twenty-five, but does not appear to have done anything of note. He, like all his brothers in orders, was an *alumnus* of Exeter College, Oxford. Robert, the eldest son, had married Rebecca, fourth daughter and coheiress of Richard Regnell, of Creedywiger, Devon, and, besides the comforts of so fortunate a match, had enjoyed the

spiritual consolations of rich and rapid preferment. A canonry of Exeter in March 1629, the treasurer-ship of the cathedral on the 25th of the following June, the archdeaconry of Cornwall four years afterwards, the rectory of Stokeinteinhed 1630, and Clyst-Hydon 1634, doubtless in a measure compensated him for any mental disquietude he experienced in the distractions of the times. He must have been a man of generous impulses and some *savoir faire*. His filial, if somewhat ill-judged, defence of his aged father has been already noticed ; and being permitted to keep the rectory of Clyst-Hydon all through the time of the commonwealth, he became a great patron and supporter of the sequestered clergy. George was not for the present so fortunate, though afterwards more eminent. He had been appointed to the rich benefice of Menhenist in 1637, and on the resignation of Robert, had succeeded to the archdeaconry of Cornwall. His living, however, was sequestered, and he was not allowed even to keep a school. Eventually he was allowed to preach at St. Bartholomew's, Exchange, and afterwards at St. Botolph's, Aldersgate. That he was a good royalist, as was his father, will account not only for his temporary depression, but also for his subsequent rise by way of a chaplaincy to King Charles II. and an archdeaconry of Canterbury to the bishopric of Chester. He took part in founding the Society now known as the "Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy" in 1655, the year before his father's death, and was the preacher of the first sermon in its behalf.

We must now collect the few remaining details of the Bishop's last years, and so approach the

completion of our task. Ever an indefatigable preacher, he was always ready to occupy the pulpits of the Norwich churches, and to give the people the benefit of his rich and varied experience. Amongst his published sermons are one on "Life a Sojourning," preached at Higham on Sunday, July 1st, 1655, and another on "Good Security, or the Christian's Assurance of Heaven," which is possibly of a still later date. The work of an octogenarian though they are, they cannot fail to excite the admiration of far younger but less gifted men. When by reason of age and bodily weakness he was unable to preach, he might be seen walking, staff in hand, to church, where he would sit and listen attentively to the youngest of his disciples. Racked with pain, and with all the recollections of the bitter injustice he had suffered fresh upon him, his patience was marvellous. He seemed almost insensible to the loss of his estate, and, though often heard to bewail the spoiling of the Church, very rarely even mentioned his own misfortunes. Those who had lived with him could say no fairer copy of the patience of Job, save one, had ever been seen in man. Sensitive he no doubt was, quick to feel and ready in reply; but his essentially calm, gentle, meek, and moderate spirit was mirrored in his mild and serene aspect, which was never seen ruffled by any disorderly passion. Stripped of wealth and left comparatively poor, he was not unmindful of those who were still poorer; every week to his dying day he distributed sums of money out of his own means to certain of the widows of the parish in which he lived. When confined to his bed, and almost overcome by weakness, he administered the rite of

confirmation to such as desired it. Death had no terror for him. He greatly longed for it and was very kindly of it.

Thus blessing others, himself highly blessed at length, on September 8th, 1636, after it is said foretelling the night of his death and giving rise for the time and manner of his funeral passed from earth Joseph Hall, a prelate "as loving and as much beloved as any man of his order."

He had noted that it was a fashion in the neighbourhood of Norwich, when a neighbour died in all his friends in various parishes to "set forth the bells," to give public notice of his departure. He did not dislike the practice; it was an act of respect to the deceased, and if the death of God's saints were, as it was, precious in His sight, he thought it should be so in ours, and, therefore, well worthy of being made known. Were the bells rung after the Bishop's death? We do not know; but what he would have much preferred he has himself told us. As he drew towards his end, he would have had the bell tolled to give notice of his dying condition, that all within hearing might be thereupon moved to fervently pray for the good of his departing soul, suing for mercy and forgiveness, and a clean passage of it to the approaching glory. In the former course he thought there was civility and humanity; in this, charity and piety. Living within the smoke of the city, it had not been with him as with those of whom he speaks, who, dwelling near the "cataract of Nilus," are said to be deafened by the noise of the waterfall; the noise of the passing bells, like all else he saw or heard, was a voice from heaven—it was a wonder to him that men could think of any-

thing but their passing away, together with their time.

The funeral, in accordance with his wish, was as private as could be; but his desire to be buried beneath the open sky was not complied with. Perhaps it was owing to the solicitations of sorrowing friends that he had sacrificed his own wishes, and permitted his daughters Mary and Elizabeth to be buried, the latter within the walls of Stoke Canon Church, the former in Exeter Cathedral. Edward, too, was buried in Norwich Cathedral. His wife was interred *within* the walls of Higham Church, and, notwithstanding a doubt to the contrary, it is almost certain that Hall himself was laid beside her.*

Being entreated he had consented that a sermon, in his honour should be preached after the funeral. The preacher was the Rev. John Whitefoot, M.A., Rector of Higham, to which he had been instituted by Hall in 1652. The sermon, delivered September 30th, 1656, at St. Peter's, Mancroft, Norwich, and dedicated to the Bishop's eldest son, is an eloquent tribute to the memory of his revered friend and superior from the appropriate text Gen. xlvii. 29, "*And the time drew nigh that Israel must die.*" The parallel drawn between Israel and the deceased Bishop, if sometimes laboured, is not unworthy to rank with Hall's own efforts in that peculiar style. As an eye-witness, his testimony to the closing days of the good old man is peculiarly valuable.

* Peter Hall, a descendant of the Bishop, says that some excavations made in the year 1823 discovered the position of the tomb, below the mural monument erected on the southern wall. The stone upon the floor had been removed some years previously from the grave into the middle of the chancel.

The visitor to Norwich who knows aught of Bishop Hall and loves the Church of which he was so loyal a son, will not fail to ask where his remains are laid. He will wend his way to the little Church of St. Bartholomew, situate in a corner of Norwich but little visited, once in spite of its historic interest neglected and decaying, now at length at great cost carefully restored. In the chancel is a slab with the legend "*Induviæ Josephi Hall, olim Norwicensis Ecclesiæ servi. Repositæ 8 Die Mensis Septembris, Anno Domini 1656, Ætatis suæ Anno 82. Vale Lector et Eternitati prospice.*" On the south side of the chancel is the Bishop's monument:—A skeleton gilt and inlaid, on a tablet, holding in his right hand a bond with a seal, inscribed *Debemus morti nos, nostraque*, and in the other hand the bond with the seal torn off, showing that the bond is cancelled, with the inscription *Persoluit et quietus est*. Across the tablet are the words *Obiit 8 Septem. Anno Æræ Christianæ 1656, Æt. suæ 82.* Below is the following—*Josephus Hallus olim humilis Ecclesiæ Servus.*

"A humble servant of the Church." Many noble things have been said of Bishop Hall, perhaps nothing more to his credit than the simple words just quoted. They indicate the mainspring of his life, and the harmonising principle of all his action. For such an epitaph a man might be content to suffer and to die. Do we not well to embalm his name? May some be encouraged by his bright example, with wisdom and moderation, with heart and head, with the labours of the pen and the fairer characters of a blameless life, to fight the battles of our beloved Church, and resolutely defend her cause!



A SHORT PEDIGRE

Compiled from various sources—Blomefield's "History of Norfolk," Nichols' Cullam's "History of Hawsted," Palmer's "Perustrations of Yarmouth," which were kindly lent to the author by W. T. Bensly, Esq., LL.D., Regis

JOHN HALL, the chief office
in Leicestershire, under He

— HALL=REV. JOHN BRINSLEY.

HALL,
elder brother
to the Bishop.

SAM
Ep. De
appears
young

REV. JOHN BRINSLEY,
Educated at Eman. Coll., Camb., Lecturer
at Yarmouth, d. 1664, aged 64; bur. in S.
Nicholas' Church there.

ROBERT, eldest son, bapt. at
Hawsted, co. Suffolk, Dec. 26,
1605; D.D. of Exeter Coll.,
Oxford, 1643; Canon Residen-
tiary and Treasurer of Exeter
Cathedral, 1629; Archdeacon of
Cornwall, 1633; died May 29,
1667, æt. 61; bur. in the Cathed-
ral there. He married Rebecca,
fourth dau. and coheirress of
Richard Regnell, of Creedy-
wiger, Devon, and died without
issue. She died May 28, 1664;
æt. 61 (see "Her. Visit. Devon,"
1620).

JOSEPH, b. 1607,
d. March 26, 1669,
and devisee of prop-
erty at Waltham
under his father's
will. He appears
to have been a
layman. Princi-
pal Registrar of
the Diocese of
Exeter; bur. in
the Cathedral
there.

GEORGE, D.D., of Exeter =
Coll., Oxford, b. at Wal-
tham, 1612; Archdeacon
of Cornwall, afterwards
of Canterbury; Bishop of
Chester, 1662-68, and
Rector of Wigan, co.
Lancaster, where he died,
Aug. 23, 1668, and was
buried. Will dated Aug.
23, 1668, proved (Cur.
Prærog. Cant.) Dec. 2,
1668, s. p.: v. Monuments
in Chester Cathedral and
Wigan Church.

GERT
of Sir
Merc
Ashle
Chesh
died a
March
was b

ELIZABETH=BAMFILDE ROOD, Esq.,
subsequent to July 21, 1654 (v. Bishop
Hall's will). The will of his wife's
father states that an estate of £800
per ann. settled upon him at his mar-
riage. To Elizabeth his wife, prop-
erty (by the same will) was devised
at Milbarton, in Norfolk.

MARY, living
unmarried on
July 21, 1654,
married be-
fore Feb. 27,
1668-9, and
living then.

SIR THOMAS WAL-
Knt., of Exeter,
knighted June 1, 1
at Windsor Castle -
Le Neve's "Knight

BISHOP HALL'S FAMILY.

of Leicestershire," Ormerod's "History of Cheshire," Wood's "Athenæ Oxonienses," of the two bishops, father and son, and the will of the widow of the latter, extracts from Diocese of Norwich, together with a pedigree drawn up by the late Mr. Grigson.

de la Zouch, = WINIFRIDE BAMBRIDGE.
Huntingdon.

And 6 other children.

JOSEPH HALL (BISHOP OF EXETER AND NORWICH),
b. July 1, 1574, d. Sept. 8, 1656. Will dated July 21,
1654; codicil, April 28, 1656, proved in London, regis-
tered also (Arch. Norw.) Sept. 18, 1656.

ELIZABETH, dau. of Mr. George Winiffe,
or Wenyewe, of Brettenham, co. Suffolk;
d. Aug. 27, 1652, æt. 69; bur. at Higham.

SAMUEL, b. =
1616, M.A.,
of Exeter
Coll., Ox-
ford, 1640;
Sub-Dean
of Exeter,
Sept. 22,
1641, d.
1674, bur.
at Stoke
Canon,
Devon.

EDWARD, youngest
son, called Artium
Professor, A.B., of
Exeter Coll., Ox-
ford, 1640: ob. Dec.
24, 1642, æt. 23;
bur. in Norwich
Cathedral.

ELIZABETH, d. =
July 8, 1651, æt.
41, and was bur.
at Stoke Canon.

WM. PETERSON,
D.D., who be-
came Dean of
Exeter, in 1629,
d. Dec. 6, 1661,
aged 74; bur. in
Stoke Canon
Church, co.
Devon.

MARY, b. =
1616, d. on
Christmas
Day,
1638;
bur. at
Exeter
Cath.,
Dec. 29.

JAMES RODD,
Esq., of Exe-
ter, at Exeter
Cathedral,
Nov. 29, 1636.

JOHN, LL.B., d. Feb. 12, 1650, as mentioned on
his gravestone in Higham Church. The parish
register states that he was bur. on the same day.

BAMFILDE = ELIZABETH
RODD,
d. of Samuel
Hall, Sub-
Dean of
Exeter.

ANN, b. Jan. 2, 1622, ob. =
Feb. 19, 1660; bur. at
Braconash.

GASCOIGNE WRLD, Esq., of
Braconash, co. Norfolk, d.
April 25, 1701, aged 89, bur.
there.

JOSEPH WELD, only son, æt. 13, 1664.
Serjeant-at-Law, M.P. for Bury St.
Edmunds: d. unmarried and intestate
in London, Jan. 18, 1712; bur. at St.
Mary's, Bury, Jan. 26. Le Neve's
"Memoranda in Heraldry."

MARY WELD, =
1st wife.

WILLIAM STARKEY, A.M.,
rector of Fulham, co. Nor-
folk, d. Oct. 13, 1717, aged
66; bur. there.

MARY STARKEY, b. Oct. 8, =
1690, d. Aug. 17, 1714; bur.
at Aylsham.

JOHN JERMV, Esq., of
Bayfield, co. Norfolk,
b. 1676, d. 1744.

WILLIAM JERMV, Esq., only son, b. 1713, High
Sheriff of Norfolk, 1748, married twice, but d.
s. p. 1752.

APPENDIX II.

WILL OF DR. JOSEPH HALL, BISHOP OF NORWICH.

From the Norfolk Archaeology, vol. v., pp. 215-19.

IN the name of God, Amen. I, Joseph Hall, Dr. of Divinity, (not worthy to be called B. of Norwich,) considering the certainty of death and the great uncertainty of life, have thought much in the state of my wonted health to make my last Will and Testament in manner following. First I bequeath my soule into the hands of my Faithful Creator and Redeemer, not doubting but that He will receive it to mercy and crowne it with glorie. My body I leave to be interred wthout any funerall pompe, at the discretion of my executor, wth this only monition, that I do not hold God's house a mete repositorie for the dead bodyes of the greatest Saints. My house and grounde in the City of Exeter I give my eldest sonne Rob^t Hall Dr. of Divinity and his heires for ever. . . . Moreover to my sonne Joseph I give and bequeath all that freeland with the appurtenances which I have in Much Bently in the County of Essex wth the edifices thereto belonging. And whereas I am informed that the custome of that Mannor is such that the Coppyhold lands except they be formerly Surrendered into the hands of the Tenants to other uses, Do in course descend upon the youngest Sonne,* my Will is that my Sonne Samuel (upon

* "Borough English is a customary descent of lands in some ancient *Boroughs* and copyhold Manors, that estates shall descend to the

whom it will fall) doe speedily surrender that Copyhold and the Tenements thereto belonging to the use and behoof of my s^d Sonne Joseph, and his heires for ever. . . . Also to my Sonne George I give and bequeath all that terme and remainder of yeares which I have in the Dwelling-house wherein I now remain, and the groundes thereto belonging, with all the appurts to be entered upon by him within 3 months after my decease. . . . To my Sonne Samuel Hall, whoe is yet only of all my Sonnes blessed with any issue, I will and do give and bequeath all those my lands and tenements with their appurtenances, situate, lying and being in the parish of Totnesse in the County of Devon. . . . My three sonnes, I thanke God I have lived to see learned, iudicious and painfull divines. To my Sonne in Law, Mr. Dr. Peterson, Deane of Exeter, I give that curious flappe which was given me by Mr. Rawlins, and one faire gilt bowle with a cover, for a remembrance of my deare affection to him. . . . To my grandchild Elizabeth Hall I give £300. To my grandchild Mary Hall I give £100. . . . I doe make and ordaine my Sonne Samuel Hall my full, lawfull and sole executor, not doubtinge of his true fidelity therein; and doe desire and appoint my beloved Sonne in Law Gascoigne Weld, and my loving friend and neighbour Mr. George Bayfield, to be overseers thereof, giving to my s^d Sonne my Golden Medall which was given me by Mrs. Goodwin; and to Mr. Bayfield one piece of plate, viz^t., one Silver Tankard. And that this is my last will and testament I doe publish and declare, subscribinge the same and affixing my seale Manuell, this 21st day of July, in the Year of our Lord God 1654.

JOS. HALL, B. N.

Published, signed, and sealed in the ptsence of us,

youngest son: or if the owner hath no issue, to his youngest brother."—Jacob's "Law Dictionary."

Geo. Bayfield, Peregrine Pond, Edmond Camplin, Margaret Hatley, Athanasius Ferrer, John Reeve.

Memor, that all the words inserted or altered in the severall places of this will are written and done by my owne hand, and are by me accordingly published as part of my will Aprill 28, 1656. In the pŕsence of Peregrine Pond, Margaret Hatley, Edmond Camplin.

JOS. HALL, B.N.

APPENDIX III.

THE PROTEST DRAWN UP BY THE BISHOPS.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, AND THE LORDS AND PEERS NOW ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

"WHEREAS the petitioners are called up by several and respective writs, and under great penalties, to attend the Parliament, and have a clear and indubitable right to vote in Bills, and other matters whatsoever debatable in Parliament, by the ancient customs, laws, and statutes of this realm, and ought to be protected by your Majesty quietly to attend and prosecute that great service; they humbly remonstrate and protest before God, your Majesty, and the noble lords and peers now assembled in Parliament, that as they have an indubitable right to sit and vote in the House of the Lords, so are they, if they may be protected from force and violence, most ready and willing to perform their duties accordingly. And that they do abominate all actions or opinions tending to popery, and the maintenance thereof, as also all profession and inclination to any malignant party, or any other side or party whatsoever, to the which their own reasons and conscience shall not move them to adhere. But whereas they have been at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted by multi-

tudes of people in their coming to perform their services in that honourable House, and lately chased away, and put in danger of their lives, and can find no redress or protection upon sundry complaints made to both Houses in these particulars; they humbly protest before your Majesty, and the noble House of Peers, that, saving unto themselves all their rights and interest of sitting and voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit or vote in the House of Peers, until your Majesty shall further secure them from all affronts, indignities, and dangers in the premises. Lastly: Whereas their fears are not built upon phantasies and conceits, but upon such grounds and objects as may well terrify men of resolution and much constancy; they do in all humility and duty protest before your Majesty and the Peers of that most honourable House of Parliament, against all laws, orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in themselves null and of none effect, which, in their absence, since the 27th of this instant month of December, 1641, have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, in that most honourable House, during the time of this their forced and violent absence from the said most honourable House; not denying but if their absenting of themselves were wilful and voluntary, that most honourable House might proceed in all their premisses, their absence or this protestation notwithstanding. And humbly beseeching your most excellent Majesty to command the Clerk of that House of Peers to enter this their petition and protestation among his records:

“They will ever pray God to bless, etc.

“JOHN EBORAC.

GEO. HEREF.

“THO. DURESME.

ROBT. OXON.

“RO. CO. LICH.

MA. ELY.

“JOS. NORW.

GODFREY GLOUC.

“JO. ASAPH.

JO. PETERBURG.

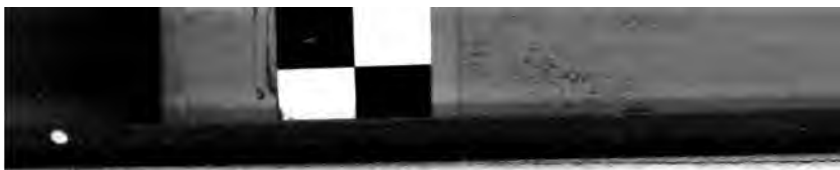
“GULI. BA. AND WELLS.

MORICE LANDASF.”

APPENDIX IV.

BISHOP GEORGE HALL'S CUP AT EXETER
COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN his will, dated August 22nd, 1668, and proved at Canterbury December 2nd, 1668, by Gertrude Hall, his relict, George Hall, third son of the Bishop, and himself Bishop of Chester, while remarking "because my owne Relac'ons are God be thanked sufficiently provided for in this world I dare not charge my estate with any legacie or legacies unto any of them," was a benefactor to Waltham Abbey, the place of his birth, and also to Exeter College, Oxford. To the latter he gave, after the decease of his wife Gertrude, his golden cup and all his estate of land at Trethewen, in St. German's, in Cornwall. The land has since changed hands, but the cup, still carefully preserved, as I have seen, is thus described in the "Handbook to the Reproduction of Silver Plate in the South Kensington Museum from celebrated English collections" by Wilfred Joseph Cripps, M.A., F.S.A., and published for the Committee of Council on Education, under the heading, "College and Corporation, Plate IV." "Hall's Cup, cup of gold *circa* 1660-70, at Exeter College, Oxford. Cup and cover. It is double-handled, pine-shaped, and repoussé with lozenge-shaped gadroons, the upper row of spaces, and the cover ornamented with flowers. Height 6 in.; width 5 in.; including handles 6½ in. On the cover are the words Col. Exon. Oxon; and on the cup itself, Col. Exon. Oxon. D.D. Rob. Hall, Ep. Cest. At the bottom, 22 carats." Mr. Cripps further says, "Plate made of real gold is of the greatest possible rarity; what are called gold services being made, in truth, of silver-gilt. There were only some five speci-



mens of gold plate exhibited in the Loan Collection of 1862 at South Kensington. This beautiful cup at Exeter College represents the gold plate of our College Collections."

APPENDIX V. (to PAGE 180).

MR. T. W. JACKSON, Fellow of Worcester College, in "Collectanea," vol. i. (published 1885 for the Oxford Historical Society), has some details respecting academies which well illustrate Hall's remarks. It is shown that from the time of Lord Burleigh down to the fall of Charles I. there was a "long series of attempts to found an exclusive and aristocratic academy," in which the youth of nobility and gentlemen might acquire those gentlemanly qualities for which no provision was made in the universities.

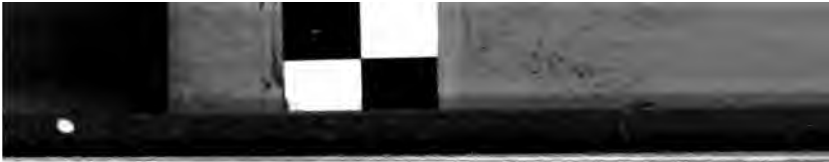
Prince Henry was a warm supporter of these plans, and the reasons which moved him are peculiarly interesting to the student of Hall's life:—"That the king's wards might have a fit breeding, and an education given them in England which they had not at all, but in forraine partes, where yt proved costly to their soules many times, as much as their bodies. Also that our young men, when they travel, may be more fit for it, whereas now we yield the French and other nations an occasion to undervalue us; and that His Highness perceived the Nobility and gentry of England too much given to ease, because they wanted occasion of morning exercise; which by the advancement of this work they would be brought unto; as lykewise into a place of Assembly (yet altogether wanting in England) where they might learn fashion and civility, and by these partes of exercise and breeding be able to doe His Ma^{tie} honour, at the entertainments of Princes and Embassadors, in which showes here are so fewe now that doe appeare; as we

cannot perform yt with that advantage the French doe, who have their education at Academies" (page 279).

The teaching was to be "the learning of the Mathematickes and language; and for all kinds of Noble Exercises, as well of Armes as other. . . . And to shoue that he meant to leave nothing untryed for the performance of the designe, he was resolved to have gotten as many horses out of His Ma^{ties} stable and race as he could, for the better furnishing of the Academie: and to have bin exceeding liberall allso, out of his owne stable and Race, to the same end: meaning himself in person to have comme into the Academie once a week ordinarily, to have seen howe that which he so much affected, prospered; and to have exercised there as he did at S. James'. And to have proceeded yet, to the seeking of farther means (if need were) for the bringing of his work to perfection. But at the very instant yt pleased God to take him away" (page 280).

Not unnaturally the academies were regarded with great suspicion by the universities.

If the date assigned to the composition of the "Quo Vadis?" be correct, Hall might have supplemented his knowledge of horses by reading Gervase Markham's "Covntrey Contentments in Two Bookes: the first, containing the whole Art of riding great horses in very short time," etc., which was published a year or two previously (1615).



ADDENDA.

1. *Hall's Degrees*.—Entered at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1589; B.A., 1592; Fellow of Emmanuel, 1595; M.A., 1596; B.D., 1603; D.D., 1612.

His preferments were as follows:—To the Rectory of Halsted, or Hawstead, Suffolk, 1601; Domestic Chaplain to Prince Henry, 1607; to the Donative of Waltham Cross, Essex, 1608; Prebendary of Wolverhampton, 1612; Dean of Worcester, 1616; Refused the Bishopric of Gloucester, 1624; Bishop of Exeter, 1627; Bishop of Norwich, 1641.

2. *Hall's Belief in Demoniactal Agency*, pp. 82, 83.—“The true copy of Mr. John Dee, his petition to y^e King's most Excellent Majestie, Exhibited: Anno 1604. Junij 5 at Greenwich,” which is given in Hearne's “Collections,” vol. i., p. 63, edited by Mr. Doble, Fellow of Worcester College, for the Oxford Historical Society (1885), throws light upon the beliefs of the times. Mr. Dee complains that for many years he has been the victim of a “horrible and damnable, and to him most grievous and dammageable Sclaunder . . . namely, that he is, or hath bin, a *Conjurer*, or *Caller*, or *Invoker* of Divels.” And “some impudent and malicious forraigne Enemie” had in print (Anno 1592) affirmed him to be the “Conjurer belonging to the most Honorable Privy Counsell of his Majestie's most famous last Predecessor.” Mr. Doble (note, p. 356) says that the most popular account of Dee is probably that in D'Israeli's. “Amenities of Literature.”

3. *Peter Moulin*, page 135.—Hall was roughly handled by Lewis Moulin, son of his "ancient friend," who became a violent Independent, but retracted many of his opinions before his death in 1683.—"Irenæi Philadelphi Epistola ad Renatum Veridæum, in qua aperitur mysterium iniquitatis novissime in Anglia redivivum, et excutitur liber Josephi Halli, quo asseritur Episcopatum esse juris Divini. Eleutheropoli, 1641. 4°. Auctor hujus libri, seu potius libelli famosi, fuit P. Molinæi filius, medicus Lond., qui a patre venerando penitus rejectus huc se, atque vitia simul, transtulit." "Hearne's Collections" by Doble, vol. i., p. 87. See also p. 95.

4. *Prince Henry*, page 145.—The following account of one so closely related to Hall (by Mr. Richard Holmes in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for July 1884) will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader. "The finest extant portrait of Prince Henry is by Isaac Oliver, and is in the Royal Collection of Miniatures at Windsor Castle. It is thus described in Charles I.'s catalogue:—'No. 17. Done upon the right light. The biggest limned picture that was made of Prince Henry, being limned in a set laced ruff and gilded armour, and a landskip wherein are some soldiers and tents in a square frame with a shutting glass over it. Done by Isaac Oliver—5½ inches by 4.'"

Mr. Holmes adds, "The delicacy of the work of this remarkable miniature it is impossible to overpraise, and it combines with minuteness of execution a breadth of effect which is admirable."

5. *John Goodwin*, page 214.—For more about him, and his "Redemption Redeemed," see Neal's "History of the Puritans," ii., 437 (ed. 1837); Calamy-Palmer, "Nonconformists Memorial," i., 196, *sqq.*; "Hearne's Collections" by Doble, p. 75, and note on p. 358.

6. *Wise Fregeville*, page 362.—Of this author (also called Frigevillæus (Johannes) Gantius, sive de Gant),

judging by the silence of the ordinary books of reference, much does not appear to be known. The book to which Hall apparently refers is thus described in the Bodleian Catalogue:—"The reformed politicke; that is, an apologie for the generall cause of reformation, written against the sclaunders of the pope and the league; whereto is adioyned a discourse upon the death of the duke of Guise. Lond. by Richard Field, 1589, 4°."

7. *Scultetus*, page 364.—Scultetus preached the second Latin sermon before the Synod of Dort, and signified how it joyed him to speak unto them *post eruditissimum virum, Josephum Hallum, Decanum Wigorniae Meritissimum*. Hales' Letters from Dort, December 6, 1618.

8. Page 383.—The passage is from the "Hard Measure," published early in June 1647. (It bears date May 29, 1647.)

9. "The Blessed Union of Christ and His Members," page 410.—A peculiar interest attaches to this little treatise, also called "Christ Mystical." W. Lilley, in his account of General Gordon's work at Gravesend, says that he derived his conceptions of God dwelling in us from Bishop Hall's "Christ Mystical," and that he presented to the writer a copy of that work much marked and thumbed.

10. *Bishop George Hall*, page 420.—He was also the author of a book entitled "The Triumph of *Rome* over despised Protestancy." Lond., 1667, 8°. He died in 1668, killed by a knife which was open in his pocket when he fell in his garden at Wigan.

11. Page 424.—"Many noble things," etc. The following encomiums upon Bishop Hall I copy from Peter Hall's supplemental paragraphs of biography:—"Vir rerum usu peritus, ingenio subtili et exercitato, eruditione multiplici instructus: nec interim minor erat modestiæ et indolis mansuetissimæ laus Pacis usque et concordiæ utcunque amantissimus, non odia et hostiles perduellium triumphantium iras effugere potuit; sed incarcerationatus, et beneficiis

exutus omnibus, patientiæ, quale hominem Christianum et Episcopum decebat, exemplum laudabile exhibuit." Godwin, "De Præsulibus Angliæ," vol. ii., p. 24.

"1656, Sept. 8, died, Bishop Joseph Hall: plenus dierum, plenior virtutum." Obituary of Smith, preserved in Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa."

There are several copies of laudatory and commemorative verses engraved under the portraits of the Bishop; and there is a poem (entitled "The Good Bishop," 1652) on his Balm of Gilead, in Thomas Shipman's "Carolina," 1683, 8vo. The following lines are from the English verses, signed H. N., and printed with Whitefoot's Funeral Sermon:—

"Maugre the peevish world's complaint,
Here lies a bishop and a saint,
Whom Ashby bred, and Granta nurs'd,
Whom Halsted, and old Waltham first
To rouse the stupid world from sloth,
Heard thund'ring with a golden mouth;
Whom Worcester next doth dignifie,
And honoured with her deanery:
Whom Exon lent a mitred wreath,
And Norwich, where he ceas'd to breath.

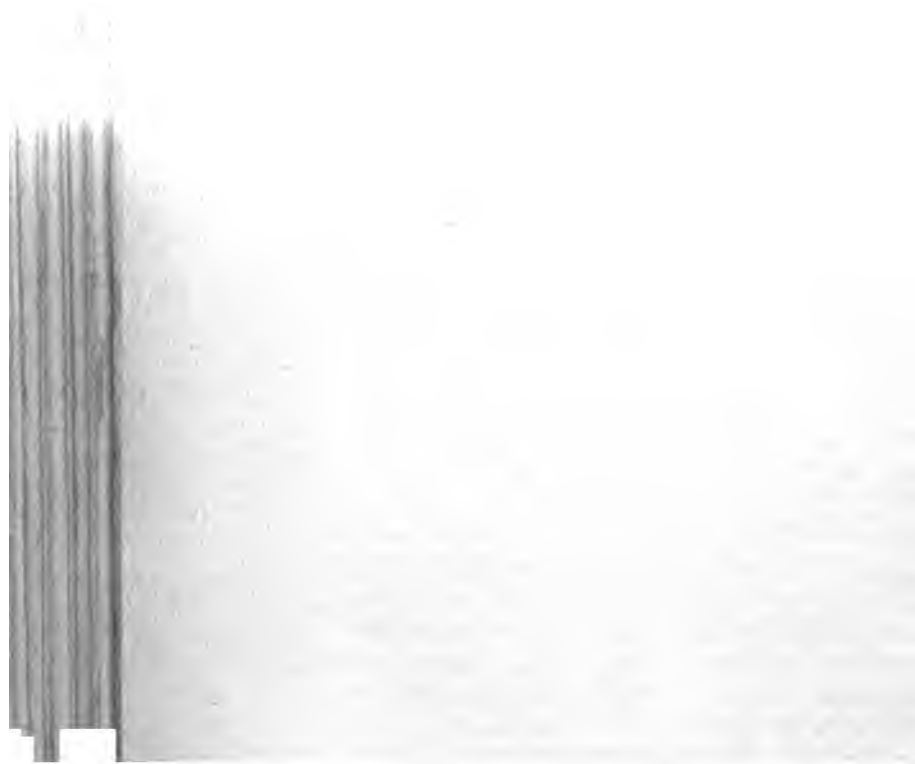
These all with one joint voice do cry,
Death's vain attempt, what doth it mean?
My Son, my Pupil, Pastor, Dean,
My rev'rend Father cannot die."

His friend Thomas Fuller, in addition to remarks inserted in the text, described him as "not unhappy at controversies, more happy at comments, very good in his characters, better in his sermons, best of all in his meditations."

Mr. Jones in his memoir calls him the English Chrysostom, and applies to him the description originally given of St. Augustine:—"Insignis erat sanctissimi præsulis mansuetudo ac miranda animi lenitas et quædam invincibilis clementia."

With the testimony of two living authorities I end the list. Archdeacon Farrar ("Speech in Chickering Hall," New

York, October the 29th, 1885), has spoken of "Bishop Hall, the eloquent and weighty divine of his day," and the Dean of Norwich (Dr. Goulburn), in a private letter to the author, from which I venture to quote, observes, "In devoutness, in moderation, in theological attainment, he is a noble specimen of an Anglican bishop; and, as with Hooker and old Fuller, one gets to love his very conceits and quaintnesses."



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